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U.S. Radars Criticized as ABM Violations

LD0210173889 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—The Soviet Union expects the United States to take steps to allay Soviet concern about the U.S. large phased-array radars, stationed in Greenland and Britain, a Soviet senior military official told TASS.

Colonel-General Bronislav Omelichev, said that the radar issue became particularly topical after Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced the Soviet decision to completely eliminate the Krasnoyarsk radar at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Wyoming.

"Under the antiballistic missile treaty, the Soviet Union and the United States pledged not to deploy large phased-array radars anywhere except in specially specified cases," Omelichev noted.

"However, after the treaty went into effect, the Americans deployed such a radar near Thule, Greenland, where several dish-type radars had long been in operation.

"It's quite obvious that the area of Thule does not match any of the exceptions specified in the treaty: It is not an area where it is permitted to deploy a limited antiballistic missile defence, or a U.S. ABM test range, or the country's periphery.

"In a bid to justify the move, the U.S. side claims that the radar is not a new object but a result of the modernisation of already existing stations.

"There's hardly any need to speak of the thinness of these arguments. The new large phased-array radar was deployed where there was no radar when the ABM treaty went into force," the general pointed out.

He said the U.S. deployment of another phased-array radar, in Fylingdales-Moor, Britain, was one more violation of the ABM treaty.

The United States had already deployed an advance radar post of its warning system in that area, Omelichev said.

Omelichev rejected attempts to draw parallels between the Krasnoyarsk radar and the U.S. radars in Greenland and Britain as; absolutely unfounded.

"The Soviet radar, which began to be built in the early 1980s, was intended to track space objects and verify the fulfilment of obligations concerning the use of outer space," he said.

"The site chosen for the radar's construction took into account the fact that quite a few spacecraft pass over that area.

"The location and orientation of such radars are not limited by the treaty, so the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar did not, and does not, contradict the ABM treaty.

"Our country has more than once proved, and quite convincingly, that the nature and purpose of this radar give no grounds for regarding its construction as a violation of the ABM treaty.

"The Soviet Union set forward several proposals that could remove the U.S. concern, but they were unsuccessful. Lies proliferated and speculation about the Krasnoyarsk station continued, which no doubt had a very negative effect on the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, slowing them down," the general said.

He pointed out that the Soviet Union announced readiness to dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar to confirm its intention to preserve the ABM treaty, one of the bases for maintaining stragegic stability, and to clear the way to an early strategic arms reduction [START] treaty.

"The importance of this move is difficult to overestimate, at issue is a 50 per cent cut in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons, the most powerful and formidable weapons in the two countries' arsenals," Omelichev noted.

"The Soviet Union's new approach is opening the way to the finalisation and implementation of a START treaty."

Call for Unilateral Nuclear Cuts Sharply Rebutted

PM0210134589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Professor Ye. Volkov: "Not Clarity but Obscurity: Regarding a Discussion on Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The problem of reducing strategic arms is one of the most important in present-day military building. It has been widely discussed in the press of late. Hero of Socialist Labor Professor Ye. Volkov, who is a doctor of technical sciences and a reserve lieutenant general, here gives his opinion on the question. He has spent a long time in charge of scientific research collectives working in the strategic arms development sphere.

Huge amounts of nuclear weapons are stockpiled today. In 1988 the United States possessed roughly 14,000-16,000 strategic offensive armaments, including ground-launched ICBM's, SLBM's, and strategic aircraft, while the Soviet Union had around 10,000 nuclear charges. The combat potential of the two sides' strategic offensive armaments is roughly the same here, and this state is defined as a state of strategic parity.

The requirement that strategic offensive armaments be able to deliver an unacceptably damaging counterstrike on an enemy is a basic requirement. The idea is that, even if the enemy uses all his available resources against your strategic offensive arms, some of the latter will remain combat-effective and able to inflict damage on the enemy that is unacceptable to him. If such a situation can be guaranteed, it is regarded as a means of deterring an aggressor from launching a nuclear war. It has been demonstrated that there is no need for the aforementioned quantity of nuclear charges. The tasks of deterrence could be resolved with significantly lower levels of strategic offensive armaments on both sides. The reduction of strategic offensive armaments is also extremely desirable as it tends to improve the international atmosphere and makes it possible to substantially cut defense expenditure. The possibility of and necessity for this reduction is generally recognized. However, differing opinions are expressed on questions of the level to which USSR strategic offensive arms should be reduced and how this should be carried out. Discussion on these very questions has been conducted in recent months on the pages of the weekly MOSCOW NEWS.

During the discussion articles by Doctor of Historical Sciences R. Bogdanov and Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Kortunov (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States and Canada), Doctor of Technical Sciences Colonel V. Dvorkin and Candidate of Technical Sciences Colonel V. Torbin (Defense Ministry), a number of others, and finally an article by former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara have been published. The opinions of the participants in the discussion vary. Let us just dwell on those that are extreme and plainly opposed. That is to say, the opinion formulated in the article by R. Bogdanov and A. Kortunov and in the article by V. Dvorkin and V. Torbin. The former think that five warheads are sufficient to cause unacceptable damage to the United States and that, to ensure that these five warheads hit their targets even when all U.S. strategic offensive arms are employed against similar Soviet armaments, the Soviet warhead total need be only 500. One wonders where this figure came from. Is it purely speculative? These writers' standpoint is that the Soviet Union's strategic offensive armaments can be reduced unilaterally (that is, without a reduction in U.S. strategic offensive arms) by a factor of 12 without damaging the country's security.

The opinion held by Dvorkin and Torbin, on the contrary, is that the reduction in our strategic offensive armaments proposed by Bogdanov and Kortunov will lead to a situation where it will be impossible to guarantee inflicting damage on the United States in a counterstrike and our strategic offensive armaments will lose the capability to fulfill their basic task—that of deterrence. Dvorkin and Torbin therefore think that phased, simultaneous, and consistent reduction of strategic offensive armaments by the USSR and the United States is the only feasible option for reducing them. Strategic parity should exist at every stage, and the Soviet Union's strategic offensive arms should be in a position to gurarantee the fulfillment of their strategic task. It is important to note that science plays the crucial role in establishing the conditions for the reduction of strategic offensive arms. The definition of the requisite number of warheads and delivery vehicles is the main objective and content of strategic arms planning, in the process of which multifarious military-technical tasks have to be resolved. It is not possible to produce a detailed methodology or achieve scientific research results in this sphere. Let us point out only that Robert McNamara stated when he was U.S. defense secretary that the United States needed 400 megaton-class warheads to deliver a counterstrike on the Soviet Union. But since the losses of strategic offensive armaments during combat operations could be very considerable, you need to start out with thousands of strategic offensive arms if you want to retain this number of warheads. Thus the recommendations of Bogdanov and Kortunov differ from those made by foreign researchers.

Let us stress that scientific research in the sphere under examination is extremely complex. It is carried out in many scientific organizations under the Defense Ministry and other ministries. Only highly competent professional specialists are capable of such research.

The Soviet Union has long campaigned for strategic offensive arms cuts. A scientifically validated program to that end already exists and is being carried out. Its foundations were most fully expounded in the well-known statement delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 15 January 1986. The statement formulated proposals for a consistent, phased, simultaneous reduction of nuclear armaments by the United States and the USSR with subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons altogether (by the year 2000). The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles was concluded in implementation of these proposals, and talks are now being held to prepare a USSR-U.S. treaty halving strategic offensive arms. The draft treaty envisages a substantial cut in strategic offensive arms by both sides (down to 6,000 combat charges). It is easy to see that the conclusion of this treaty will mark a stage in the consistent bilateral reduction of strategic offensive arms while retaining strategic parity.

It is well known that positive changes are taking place in relations between our states. They are naturally bringing new elements to the solution of the questions debated in the discussion. It is thanks to them that it became possible to destroy a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles and that there is hope of concluding a treaty halving the number of strategic offensive armaments and then reducing them further. However, the time for a fundamantal change of approach to cuts has, unfortunately, not yet arrived.

In 1983 the Nauka Publishing House brought out a book by R. Bogdanov entitled "The United States: Military Machine and Policy," and in 1984 the Political Literature Publishing House published A. Arbatov's book "Military-Strategic Parity and U.S. Policy." Both authors showed in a detailed and convincing way in their books that the United States right up to the moment the books were written was actively preparing to wage a nuclear war against the Soviet Union and had developed its strategic offensive armaments to win that war. Let us note in passing that Bogdanov, who now proposes that we cut our strategic offensive arms unilaterally, wrote in his book as follows: "The arms buildup programs will not force unilateral concessions out of the USSR. The Soviet Union will be forced to meet the American challenge by deploying its own weapons systems" (p 205). Arbatov in his book objectively lays out the long-term programs (right up to the year 2000) for developing and improving U.S. strategic offensive arms. He writes correctly here that "strategic arms programs are undoubtedly a more significant and precise criterion for Washington's nuclear missile policy than its public declarations" (p 206). Perhaps something substantial has changed in U.S. strategic offensive arms development programs since the aforementioned books were published? No, not a single program has been wound up or cut back. The new MX missile is now replacing one previously deployed. The new Trident-2 SLBM is completing trials. Tests of the B-2 bomber are under way. All these types of armaments are many times more effective than previous ones and their ability to destroy Soviet strategic offensive missiles has been particularly growing. Work on SDI ("star wars") is continuing. U.S. military expenditure is showing virtually no reduction. This July, PRAVDA reported the preparation in the United States of the latest plan for nuclear attack on the USSR and the improvement of U.S. arms to make them more effective in destroying Soviet strategic offensive armaments. Can one, given this, carry out unilateral deep cuts (to the verge of destruction) in Soviet strategic offensive arms? I think that this would be fundamentally at variance with the tasks of ensuring the country's reliable defense capability.

The situation obtaining in the discussion at the time Robert McNamara's article appeared in MOSCOW NEWS was as follows: A considerable number of participants in it who are not specialists in the problem under discussion had in some form or other responded positively to Bogdanov and Kortunov's article. Dvorkin and Torbin's article was the only one where the policy of simultaneous, phased reduction of strategic offensive armaments by both sides was clearly and unambiguously upheld.

What, then, did McNamara's article "Minimal Deterrence Is the Ultimate Goal" contribute that was new? While in general speaking approvingly of Bogdanov and Kortunov's article, McNamara unambiguously opted for the position adopted by Dvorkin and Torbin. That is to say, the position currently adopted at the talks. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, since McNamara is well acquainted with strategic arms development planning and is a specialist in the field. And every specialist knows that there is presently no other way to cut strategic offensive armaments than through the talks under way.

A paradoxical situation has come about. A former U.S. secretary of defense who did much to prepare for nuclear war against the USSR considers that reduction should ensure that the number of Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive armaments is roughly the same, while our scientists propose that the correlation of warheads be 30:1 (15,000 and 500) in favor of...the United States.

It is not known whether the MOSCOW NEWS editorial office has any plans to continue the discussion, so it can only be assessed provisionally for the moment. The main point in any discussion is that opinions be compared in order to get at the truth or at least the most accurate view. This objective can only be attained if all sides represented are competent specialists in possession of the necessary scientific information. In the case under examination this condition is not met. The discussion therefore does not help to establish the truth. But perhaps it is useful in the sense that it enables the reader to better appreciate the situation in this very complex and interesting sphere of our life? From this standpoint the discussion is, in my opinion, not merely futile but harmful. Harmful because it has so far merely confused readers on the questions under discussion. From the state of the discussion so far readers could, for example, draw the conclusion that the policy being pursued by the Soviet Union in the sphere of strategic offensive armaments reduction is incorrect and should be replaced by a policy of immediate, deep, unilateral cuts in our strategic offensive armaments. An evaluation of the "validity" of such a risky conclusion clearly cannot be given.

Thus the phased, simultaneous, consistent reduction of strategic offensive armaments by the United States and the Soviet Union is at the present time the only realistic option that does not harm the country's defense.

Valuable INF Missile Equipment Buried

18011017 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Sep 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by colonel of legal services Yu. Rubanovskiy, chief of the General Inspection Department of the Military Procuracy in the Volga-Urals Military District, and Lieutenant Colonel O. Bedula, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "The Story of a Burial"]

[Text] This story started more than a year ago when the missile and artillery service in the district received a telegram signed by the Chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Main Missile and Artillery Directorate in which it was ordered that in the units indicated they were to "dismantle all training-and-reserve and electrified models, assemblies, parts, blocks, and simulators for all types of components... by means of dismantling, deforming, and mechanically stripping of these items, and to render them into metal waste and bury the separate elements of the structures."

Let us explain. The list of recommended work was part of the measures aimed at complying with the well-known INF Treaty.

Soon the appropriate addresses, including the Saratov Higher Military Command and Engineering School for the missile forces, received telegrams from the district Missile and Artillery Forces, setting forth the specific time tables for the work to be completed. At the training establishment responsibility for compliance rested with the then deputy chief of the school for weapons, Colonel G. Vaytulenis.

It should be said that Gennadiy Vladimirovich did not remain idle. What did it matter if some sets of instruments, parts, and assemblies were destroyed.... But for various reasons the work was delayed, and it soon became clear that moving the school from the territory and making waste metal of the "dismantled, deformed and mechanically stripped" equipment in accordance with the schedule would be impossible. And then, despite the fact that the equipment contained valuable metals, Col Vaytulenis decided that everything should be buried. And in order to prevent theft, he ordered that it be buried on the territory of a warehouse guarded by the watch.

And thus gold and platinum and alloys of them worth R42,000 were laid in the earth. This sum could probably have been greater, but at some moment the heart of Major V. Pisakin, chief of the missile and artillery weapons school, wavered. As the leading undertaker he suddenly had a brain wave: The money is being deprived of this money!.... The major set some of the circuit boards aside. Later the valuable metals were taken from them and handed over to fulfill the "precious metal" plan.

Once again the spades flashed over the golden "grave" and the acting chief of the school, Colonel (now retired) V. Yenyutin now sent a telegram to the missile and artillery services in the district stating that the task had been completed.

When he investigated this story the procurator of the Saratov garrison established that the persons handling the precious metals have shown astonishing carelessness and irresponsibility. This is what the chief of the store in the laboratory equipment section, V. Gorokhova, said:

"Major Matveyev brought me most often articles containing what I have now learned were precious metals. I put them away in a box. Officers from the other faculties also brought the same kinds of parts. I did not keep a tally, no one asked..."

Major V. Pisakin looked dispirited and disheartened:

"Not all the subunits keep a tally of secondary precious metals. This also applies to our service..."

"It was only after the procurator had conducted his check that we brought the tally and the storage of the gold and platinum into good order" said Major A. Yermokhin, chief of the computer equipment section.

For many months the responsible officials at the school and officers in the district missile and artillery service closed their eyes to what was happening. It is true that today they have drawn the appropriate conclusions from everything that happened. However, we also heard the following: Is it worth it to us in the procurator's office getting involved in such a petty business, when the value of the equipment destroyed was only R180,000? But if we multiply this figure for the whole of the INF Treaty then we are talking about millions.

It is truly said that when the millions begin to justify the thousands then what we have is not bad finances but bad morality. It remains for us to report that all the buried precious metals were recovered from the pit and handed back to the state; and the persons involved in this story were punished by disciplinary measures.

U.S. To Invite Inspections of SDI Facilities

PM0210110589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "They Intend to Invite Soviet Experts"]

[Text] Washington, 27 Sep—The United States intends to invite Soviet representatives to inspect two research centers working within the framework of the "star wars" program. Henry Cooper, leader of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks on space arms, reported at a special briefing in the Pentagon Tuesday that the United States plans in the very near future to propose that a group of Soviet technical experts inspect the laboratories at Los Alamos (New Mexico) and San Juan Capistrano (California).

Yakovlev on Results of Bloc Secretaries Conference

PM0210161389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference Has Ended"]

[Text] Varna, 28 Sep—The conference of the socialist countries' fraternal party central committee secretaries for international questions concluded its work here today. Representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Unity Party (Germany), the Workers Party of Korea, the Cuban Communist Party, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the CPSU, and the Czechoslovak Communist Party took part in it. The head of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party International Relations Department, along with the editor in chief of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, took part in the conference.

The conference participants exchanged opinions on the contemporary situation in the world and topical questions of their parties' international activity.

Assessing the results of the conference, A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent that the meeting's participants discussed two questions which were especially important both from the viewpoint of the practical policy adopted by the fraternal parties and states in the modern world and also from the viewpoint of the theory of scientific socialism. One of these questions related to the position of socialism in the world and the situation in the socialist world, which are interconnected. It is hardly necessary to prove the significance of this problem. Theory and practice, ideology and policy, economics and the military situation are intertwined together here. Grasping this intricate web of ideas, singling out the main objective trends in it, and realistically assessing one's own interests and capabilities in this connection, thus, stimulates one's own development. But there is also another aspect to this complex range of problems. Socialism arose as a doctrine from an analysis of the latest contemporary experience of world development. It can only continue to evolve on this path by virtue of this.

The second question is the all-European process and its prospects. I would compare the idea of the common European home, which still has to be developed, elaborated, and filled out in detail, at the present stage to the idea of complete, universal disarmament put forward in Genoa in 1922. We have fought to implement that idea for a long time. Now, more than half a century later, this idea is beginning to produce dividends. I would like the common European home to materialize before another half-century elapses. What that home will be like also depends on us. I believe that the meeting, the ideas voiced there, its materials, and the ideas we exchanged all deserve thoughtful study and "homework" to analyze and interpret what was done there.

At this meeting, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said, we saw that the words "unity" and "uniformity" have a common grammatical root but a very different political sense. True unity is only effective when it proceeds from diversity, when each participant in joint actions does this owing to his own interests and requirements and as a result of his own free choice. Diversity is the most essential remedy for dogmatism and cliched thinking and action.

We must retain for the future the freedom of speech and open debate that were manifest at this meeting. This will render our policy better founded and better thought-out, and thus, ultimately, more effective.

Such conferences, A.N. Yakovlev noted in conclusion, perceptibly demonstrate our parties' role. The fraternal parties act as a consolidating force and as the political vanguard, not only in their own home but also within the framework of the socialist community and the socialist world as a whole. We will only be such a vanguard if we can spot and recognize new phenomena and processes—both internal and international—ahead of others.

T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, received here today the socialist countries' fraternal party delegation heads and central committee secretaries for international questions involved in the conference.

In the course of the meeting A.N. Yakovlev spoke about the discussion at the conference of questions relating to the international situation, the development of socialism and cooperation between socialist countries, and the prospects for the all-European process at present.

T. Zhivkov noted the significance of the steps aimed at improving restructuring in socialist countries, which are creating conditions for revealing the potential of socialism even more fully in the interests of boosting people's prosperity. He assessed positively the need expressed at the conference to strengthen solidarity and international cohesion among the socialist countries' fraternal parties, which is of particularly great significance for the successful building of a new society and for enhancing socialism's role in world development. The most important task is to preserve peace throughout the world, strengthen security and mutual trust, and develop equal and mutually advantageous cooperation. The further assertion of the new political thinking and action and the idea of a common European home accord with the interests of all peoples.

T. Zhivkov informed the fraternal parties' representatives of the activity of Bulgaria's communists and working people to implement in practice the July concept for further socialist building in Bulgaria, and he spoke about Bulgaria's consistent efforts aimed at strengthening and developing relations of good-neighborliness, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and around the world.

The meeting took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

TASS Reports Perfilyev News Briefing 2 Oct

Nagorno-Kabarbakh Situation

LD0210142389 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region has not improved over the few past days, according to a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman.

The blockade of highways linking the region with the outside world continues, public transport is idle and farm work has been suspended, the spokesman, Vadim Perfilyev, told a briefing at the ministry's press centre here today.

The autonomous region is experiencing a shortage of fuel, sugar, butter and matches. Foodstuffs and medicines are airlifted into Nagrono-Karabakh, he said.

A great amount of cargo destined for Nagorno-Karabakh has been blocked at railway stations in soviet Azerbaijan. Only single train-loads, mainly with building materials, have been allowed into the autonomous region over the past few days.

Perfilyev said that the special administration committee for the autonomous region is applying maximum effort to rectify the situation. He expressed hope that the steps now undertaken will "shortly produce results."

Polish Premier 'Likely' To Visit

LD0210150289 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki is likely to visit the Soviet Union, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told newsmen at a briefing here today.

Replying to a question, he said that "the date of the visit is now being negotiated."

Seabed Treaty Conference

LD0210163289 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Vadim Perfilyev, has positively assessed the results of the 3d conference to review the treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil.

The conference, which ended in Geneva on September 29, reaffirmed the effectiveness of the treaty and contributed to the consolidation of the international legal act ensuring the non-nuclear status of the sea-bed outside the 12-mile territorial waters of states, Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, he said, it is possible to expand the treaty to territorial and internal waters and reliably exclude them from the arms race.

This exclusion would be based on effective verification that nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass annihilation are not placed in any waters the legal status of which differs considerably from open sea status.

Perfiliev said that the Soviet Union shares the view of the majority of the participants in the conference that the conference and its final declaration are a step forward compared to previous, similar forums.

The Soviet delegation, noting that the forum was held in the atmosphere of positive changes in the international situation, stressed that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the preservation and further consoldiation of the treaty, effective implementation of its provisions and their universal application, as well as the adoption of further measures in the field of disarmament with a view to preventing the arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

Peace Treaty With Japan

LD0210163389 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—"The Soviet side attaches great importance to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan, the absence of which significantly affects the overall climate of Soviet-Japanese ties," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

"We sincerely want to find acceptable ways to advance towards the signing of this important document," Vadim Perfilyev said.

"That is why we proposed in December 1988 to set up a working group on a peace treaty to facilitate negotiations between the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers on this issue," he stated.

Perfilyev assessed the group's work as "a convenient and effective form of exchanging ideas."

"On several points we have close or similar views, on other matters there is no proximity so far," he said.

Stressing the need to continue the dialogue within the framework of the working group, Perfilyev observed that the remaining differences should not block the development of bilateral relations in areas where this is possible and in the interests of the two sides.

"As to our principled stance with regard to Japan's territorial claims, we have stated it on several occasions and it is well known," he said. "We believe that our stance is fair, honest and relies on a firm legal and historical basis."

Summary of Briefing

LD0210164689 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—"The Soviet side attaches great importance to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan, the absence of which significantly affects the overall climate of Soviet-Japanese ties," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

"We sincerely want to find acceptable ways to advance towards the signing of this important document," Vadim Perfilyev said.

"That is why we proposed in December 1988 to set up a working group on a peace treaty to facilitate negotiations between the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers on this issue," he stated.

"As to our principled stance with regard to Japan's territorial claims, we have stated it on several occasions and it is well known," he said. "We believe that our stance is fair, honest and relies on a firm legal and historical basis."

Touching upon the possible visit of Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the Soviet Union, the Soviet spokesman said that the date of the visit was not being negotiated. Speaking about the situation in the Korean peninsula, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Soviet Union regards Pyongyang's proposal to convene a meeting of representatives of the governments, political parties and public organisations from the north and the south to discuss unification as "realistic and constructive".

The 3rd conference to review the treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil, which ended in Geneva on September 29, reaffirmed the effectiveness of the treaty and contributed to the consolidation of the international legal act ensuring the non-nuclear status of the sea-bed outside the 12-miles territorial waters of states.

Perfilyev said that the Soviet Union shares the view of the majority of the participants in the conference that the conference and its final declaration are a step forward compared to previous, similar forums.

Commenting on the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region has not improved over the few past days, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the blockade of highways linking the region with the outside world continued, public transport is idle and farm work had been suspended.

The autonomous region is experiencing a shortage of fuel, sugar, butter and matches. Foodstuffs and medicines are airlifted into Nagorno-Karabakh, he said.

A great amount of cargo destined for Nagorno-Karabakh has been blocked at railway stations in Soviet Azerbaijan. Perfilyev said that the special administration commiteee for the autonomous region is applying maximum effort to rectify the situation. He expressed hope that the steps now undertaken will "shortly produce results."

'Roundtable' Debates China, SDI, Chemical Weapons

LD0110193689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 1 Oct 89

["International Observers Roundtable" with IZVESTIYA political observer Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, political observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, and All-Union Radio commentator Viktor Nikolayevich Levin]

[Text] [Levin] We present the international observers at the roundtable. Taking part in the program today are IZVESTIYA Political Observer Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, Political Observer Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, and the All-Union Radio commentator, Viktor Nikolayevich Levin.

Hello, comrades. As our broadcast is going out on 1 October, the anniversary of the PRC's formation, even though today quite a lot has already been said about it, we too would like to mark this very notable date in the life of the Chinese people. At same time we would like to emphasize, emphasize with great satisfaction, that recently Soviet-Chinese relations have been normalized to a noticeable extent and have advanced a long way.

An outstanding role in this has been played by the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Beijing. At the present time those relations are assuming ever greater importance, not only for our two countries, but also for the world at large.

[Shishlin] I would like to support that last point, that the recent period in the history of relations between the Soviet Union and China has indeed seen a breakthrough to a new quality in those relations. Formerly we had been speaking with satisfaction of the fact that scientific-technical, sporting, and cultural ties and economic contacts were developing between the two countries. Today, we are already talking about a full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and about rich and intensive contacts between the two great socialist states literally in all the most important spheres of social life.

It seems to me that the conditions, the prerequisites, now exist for a further bolstering and enrichment of Soviet-Chinese relations. In this instance I want to argue even somewhat egoistically.

[Kobysh] What do you mean by egoism?

[Shishlin] National egoism, but of course with all the qualifications. I think we have a very great interest in seeing Soviet-Chinese economic relations increase to many times their present level over the next few years. This would to a considerable extent help to solve the acute eocnomic problems of which we are aware, inasmuch as China, which for a long time has been a country importing agricultural produce—not having enough grain—China has now become an exporter of agricultural produce. It is worth mentioning that China, thanks to its policy of extensive contacts with the West, has also prospered technically in some areas. Chinese light industry products are of high quality, so all this will be useful. That is on the plane, as I say, of national egoism. In a broad perspective, however, without any sort of national egoism even in quotation marks, enormous importance will of course attach to political cooperation between our countries in the interests of establishing the new political thinking, in the interests of harmonizing international relations and, in fact, of achieving a radical breakthrough in their development.

[Kobysh] I would like to add a couple of points by way of developing what you have both been saying. I accompanied Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on his trip to China, and possibly the strongest impression I got from it all was that despite the difficult period that our relations had been through the Chinese people still had feelings of the most sincere friendship toward the Soviet people and the Soviet Union. This seemed to me especially true of the young, who have no memories of knowledge....

[Levin, interrupting] You mean of the years of the Red Guards.

[Kobysh] Well, yes, the years of the Red Guards and later, up to...[changes thought] I talked with more mature people, and they had only good feelings toward us. I thought that perhaps this was only the case among the simple people; that the people in the party apparatus would be wary and somehow—but no, they too were very friendly. So evidently they too have a sense, as it were—an understanding of the need to normalize relations, and are generally drawn towards friendship with us for historical reasons. As for what you called egoism—though I don't altogether agree, it's not a matter of egoism at all, because what's being initiated is mutually beneficial cooperation—the second strong impression was of the extraordinary abundance that you see in China. I, and all of us, realized that not all of China's like that. We were in Beijing and Shanghai, which are in the special zones that they have. Most of China does not live in such abundance, but all the same of course one is struck by the choice of goods and their variety and the high quality. And as far as Chinese exports are concerned, they're by no means confined to agricultural produce. They are now surprising the world. They've flooded the United States with textiles, to the value of no less than $10 billion—beating all records, and forcing all the others out.

[Levin] To that I think one can add a fact mentioned by our foreign minister, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, in his speech at the UN General Assembly, namely that talks will soon begin between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic on removing military confrontation between them. This is one more step both toward normalization of relations between our countries, and toward stabilizing and consolidating peace in the Far East. And it's also another step along the lines of the bold and enterprising foreign policy which we are pursuing on the basis of the new political thinking. Since I've mentioned that Comrade Shevardnadze announced this fact at a session of the UN General Assembly, it seems a good time for us to consider in detail both Comrade Shevardnadze's speech at the General Assembly and the very fruitful Soviet-U.S. talks which preceded it, with President Bush and Secretary of State Baker; and the meetings that are now being held in the framework of the current session of the UN General Assembly. And I think, well, there's one detail, it is of course a very vivid detail and something that vitally interested us all and we won't conceal that it excited us, too: The meeting with the ministers of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, including Comrade Shevardnadze's first meeting with Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski. And I think the Minister Skubiszewski answered many questions when he said in his speech that for Poland, relations with the Soviet Union are of the very highest importance and that Poland will fulfil all its obligations arising from the Warsaw Pact and membership of the CEMA.

[Shishlin] I'm glad you mentioned that, Viktor Nikolayevich, though I do think that by starting with these U.S. talks of our foreign minister, we're perhaps beginning the discussion on the periphery. Because....

[Levin interrupting] Because Poland's nearer to home! For all the importance of Soviet-U.S. relations.

[Shishlin] Well, all the same I think we should say something both about the conversations that took place in Moscow between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher, and, certainly, about Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's message to the President of the United States, Bush, as well as about the intensive negotiations conducted with the U.S. partner of the Soviet foreign minister. Because, of course, it's not just that we succeeded in discussing the entire agenda of Soviet-U.S. relations. It's not just that the prerequisites have been created for a new soviet-U.S. summit meeting in spring, 1990.

[Kobysh] End of spring or beginning of summer. It's been put delicately, for the moment.

[Shishlin] The point, rather, is that some new quality has been brought into Soviet-U.S. relations. A new quality. You know, during previous Soviet-U.S. meetings at various levels—both at summit level and at foreign-minister level—very often a considerable part of the time was taken up with justaposing positions, arguing for one's own position and trying to prove the rightness of one's own position and the wrongness of the opponent's position. Now, the lion's share of the time at the Soviet-U.S. talks, and indeed at the talks with Great Britain which were held in Moscow, is spent on bringing the positions closer together, finding points of contact and mapping a path of interaction, a path of cooperation. Well, of course, I consider, and I'm convinced of this, that what was of key importance in the accords reached in Wyoming was the problem of disarmament, the problem of limiting and curtailing the arms race. It's quite something: There are good prospects of a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms. In Vienna it looks as if all the conditions are going to be provided for really getting as far as achieving deep cuts, steep reductions of conventional arms and arms forces. On chemical weapons, the Soviet Union and the United States have reached a mutual understanding that even before a convention is signed, it is necessary to unload these lethal weapons from the Soviet and U.S. armories. And similarly with everything, including the issue of stopping nuclear tests. So far, unfortunately, it's only a question of limiting nuclear tests. And it seems to me that actually what we were talking about one year or two years ago is at last becoming a reality. And I feel in general that the radical turning-point in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations dates from the ratification of the treaty to eliminate medium- and short-range missiles, which was actually the moment when this new element came into the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. And now I think we're already looking, not at the horizon, but beyond the horizon. And certainly that is gratifying.

[Kobysh] It seems to me that what has been agreed on is now important from all angles, but perhaps, above all from the point of view that the process has started again.

Let us speak bluntly: Over recent months, after President Bush came to office, there was a certain feeling of alarm because a sort of hitch had developed. That which had been agreed with Reagan seemed to have come to a halt and hang in the air, and some sort of uncertainty emerged as to whether things would be continued and whether continuity could be observed there. And both the talks of Comrade Shevardnadze, the exchange and the message of Comrade Gorbachev and the reaction to it, as well as agreement on specific matters mentioned by you, Nikolay Vladimirovich, indicate that there is no hitch, that things have been set in motion and they are moving in an even more specific direction. For it before it was said in general terms that chemical weapons are bad and one must get rid of them; now deadlines are already being set for them to be fully scrapped. True, there is one problem here: We should not become euphoric. Well, alright, suppose the United States and the USSR will be rid of chemical weapons. What about other countries? We do not know this. This question is not simple. Even less so considering small countries have the desire to obtain their own chemical weapons: They are cheap and accessible. And here, I think, there will yet be many problems, just as in the sphere of nuclear weapons.

Vitaliy Ivanovich, in this regard, however, Bush has expressed the following view. I do not remember exactly whether it was Bush or Baker. But one U.S. leader has said that our example must have an effect on small countries, too, and above all it will knock the ground from beneath the argument of these small countries, alleging that "here you are calling on us to abandon chemical weapons while you yourselves have these weapons in such great quantities." Having scrapped these weapons, we will generally create a certain atmosphere, although indisputably it is not so simple to resolve this matter. In this regard I absolutely agree with you.

[Kobysh] Of course, a very interesting situation is now taking shape regarding the so-called 'Star Wars.' Not all is yet quite fully clear in this regard. For on the one hand, the U.S. authorities, it would seem, are abandoning the concepts of 'Star Wars.' I have in mind purely military and technical concepts, which were developed during Reagan's times. On the other hand, they are not abandoning the actual idea. Yet a third aspect is that now USSR Defense Minister Yazov has been invited to the United States, and our experts have been invited. They will be shown laboratories where the so-called 'Star Wars' weapons are being developed. That is, some sort of qualitatively new situation is being created. What is fundamentally important in this entire matter is that the question of the reduction of strategic weapons is not being tied up so tightly with the 'Star Wars,' something which opens up scope to attain the agreement that is vitally important for us and the whole of humanity.

[Shishlin] But you know, Vitaliy Ivanovich, continuing your considerations, I would like to note that one can easily dispute the viewpoint expressed by you regarding the pause in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

Although I know that this viewpoint is very popular. Somehow I have never felt any affinity for it because back in May Baker was in Moscow. Thorough conversations were held. Our minister of foreign affairs and the U.S. secretary of state held meetings in Europe. In the final analysis the actual change of the administration and the strategic reassessment were quite justified, even more so considering that an exchange of letters at the highest level was taking place. In other words, the dialogue never stopped and I do not think that actually this turn of events in Soviet-U.S. relations was in itself some sort of a surprise. No! This was prepared, of course, very meticulously and thoroughly by both political and diplomatic work carried out not only by Moscow but also by Washington. As to the 'Star Wars' and the SDI, many various enigmas do, of course, remain; in this regard; I agree with you. Perhaps, however, some things get clearer if one looks at the U.S. political scene. After all, one has to put it bluntly, that the numnber of SDI supporters in the United States, in Congress in particular, is catastrophically falling. Generally, although the Americans are carrying out projects and although they have certain achievements as regards these projects, it is absolutely clear to them that all the optimistic deadlines mentioned as to when this program could be implemented and all the spending that was planned proved wrong. I think that this program is in itself becoming obsolete. This does not mean of course that in the sphere of science and technology there can be no further absolutely incredible discoveries which one cannot even imagine now, but the actual principle of the open skies, which we have supported and which the United States has proposed....

[Levin, interrupting] And developed.

[Shishlin]...And which we are supplementing with proposals on the open earth and the open space, and so forth. This is where, of course, most interesting prospects are opening up. This transparency of the policy of all states, not only of the USSR but also of the United States and, indeed, all states; this transparency of policy is a most certain path toward trust, of course. Where trust emerges, not only rivalry and competition are possible there, but also cooperation and interaction.

[Levin] What you have said, Nikolay Vladimirovich, about the transparency and about strengthening trust is a very important element which has no doubt promoted a certain change in our position. But I would like to draw the attention of listeners to the following aspect. (Shalnev) Your U.S. colleague, Vitaliy Ivanovich, asked this in the very first conversation with Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze: So is this a concession then? And since for a very long time we focussed attention on the SDI and spoke about the SDI and strategic offensive weapons being inextricably connected, at first sight one can indeed get that impression and the question was absolutely justified. But Comrade Shevardnadze's reply, I believe, is very convincing. He said: No, this is not a concession, but takes into account real circumstances and these confidence measures, and the attitude in the United States itself toward the SDI program. And perhaps there are some other facts.

(Shishlin] And let us remember, Viktor Nikolayevich, and I am convinced that our listeners know this, that the ABM treaty must of course be observed. We are insisting on this, and we cannot do otherwise.

[Kobysh] We will never abandon this position.

[Levin] At the same time you understand—I have been observing carefuly what the U.S. press wrote right after the talks between Shevardnadze and Baker took place. And in certain circles one can hear the allegation that the Russians have deceived us—they have removed the link while stressing clearly the ABM Treaty once again. Those who are standing up for extreme plans with regard to the SDI are unhappy. Perhaps this is also a key to the understanding of this problem. It seems to me, of course, that this is a very important advance. what is more, these advances attract attention in many sectors and in many spheres of our relations. Now, and not only now, but already over recent years our foreign policy, the foreign policy of the period of perestroyka, has been highly constructive and has contained the desire to find some positive feature, even where at the first sight the situation is complex. Let us take the issue on the full elimination of nuclear weapons which was raised back at the beginning of 1986 by Mikhail Sergeyvich Gorbachev. At first we were told this: What are you talking about? This is pure propaganda. In the West now, the following idea has emerged: Well, you know, it is necessary of course, to cut nuclear weapons but to a certain limit. Some reasonable deterrence should be preserved. I can clearly imagine—and I think that you will agree with me—that some 10 years ago this position of the West would be absolutely unacceptable to us. It disagrees with our fundamental purpose. But today we can see: Why should not we take this first step, small though it may be. Alright, let us agreed on a reduction down to some sort of level. Let us agree on what the minimum deterrence is and determine it precisely and move toward it.

[Kobysh] No—explain to me then whether our proposal for a renunciation of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 remains in force or not?

[Levin] It remains. It seems to me that it remains. I believe that it remains. But we are prepared to head towards it not with a mighty surge, but by gradual steps. Will it be achieved by the year 2000? If this question is put quite bluntly. I must honestly say that I'm not convinced. But there is a movement toward this goal.

[Kobysh] No—if only the Soviet Union and the United States were involved, perhaps your conviction would be more solid, for it would be based on real facts indicating that it is possible. But, regrettably, several other countries also have these weapons, and they are not expressing a desire to renounce them. And, again regrettably, when they say that some potential for deterrence is needed, it is a very relative concept. What does potential for deterrence mean? One atomic submarine today can destroy a country. Is this a potential for deterrence, or a potential for attack?

[Levin] You are quite right to say this Vitaliy Ivanovich. Incidentally, at a press-conference given by Margaret Thatcher in Moscow, she stressed once again her unshakeable position on nuclear deterrence. And this is of course a factor that must on no account be discounted. But it seems to me all the same that some movement can open up. It will not be a quick solution; it will not be a comprehensive solution, but all the same the fewer nuclear weapons the better.

[Shishlin] Viktor Nikolayevich, I suggest we leave the year 2000 and return to 1989, to our affairs and concerns of today, particularly because, as it seems to me, we have a fairly limited amount of time left. I would like to say, all the same, that in the course of the recent Soviet-U.S. talks, mutual understanding was reached, but differences of view remained on many problems relating to so-called regional conflicts. It is a very valuable thing that, for instance, we are now able to adopt a joint document on Lebanon. Points of departure and certain elements of cooperation are emerging. On Afghanistan this is not happening. The United States continues to make massive arms deliveries, although they are aware of our position. We, for our part, are willing to suspend deliveries of armaments to Kabul if the United States abandons the arming of all the Mujahidin-led detachments. But one way or another, in the course of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, certain new elements are in fact taking shape. None of these conflicts is being resolved very easily. Take Cambodia: Although the Vietnamese troops have been pulled out, things are a long way from a full settlement there. The positions have now somehow hardened and become exacerbated—this applies to the Sihanouk grouping....

[Kobysh—interrupting] And the horrors of the arrival of the Khmer Rouge are being revived.

[Shishlin] Yes, this must not be disregarded. It is dangerous, very dangerous. In Africa it is of course a dramatic moment just now. The most decisive days are approaching—elections are to be held in Namibia in November. How is all this going to pass off? One way or another, however, it seems to me that Soviet-U.S. relations are beginning to change from being a factor for the destabilization of international relations to a factor for stability, a factor for stability. And this circumstance seems to me indeed to be opening up broad scope for the concentration of our efforts on other areas of foreign policy inasmuch as, of course, Soviet-U.S. relations, for all their significance, are but part of the overall picture. And the crammed agenda for the present 44th session of the UN General Assembly demonstrates that time should simply not be wasted. The world really has a large number of very difficult concerns.

[Kobysh] Speaking arithmetically, there are 150 problems on the agenda there. They are all problems on which the life of mankind depends—from the banning of death-dealing weapons to ecological problems. Human lives and the lives of peoples and countries are involved. All this needs to be tackled. Thus, not just headway in tackling specific problems, but also the emergence of mutual understanding with the Americans are, of course, very important in this complex world, overcrammed with problems, since it opens up the path to resolving these problems. And it would no doubt be worth saying again—there is nothing new in it, but at the General Assembly session Comrade Shevardnadze stressed in his speech—quite properly, I think—that the destinies of peace are inseparable from the destiny of our restructuring. A very great deal in the world will depend on how it is going to proceed. The fact that it has already exerted the most positive influence on the course of events in the world is an obvious one, because the successes—perhaps not immense, but obvious ones all the same—which are occurring and the headway, or advances, as diplomts say, which are taking place nearly always emerge directly from our restructuring, from a growth of trust toward us, from the new climate that is being established in the world, from the atmosphere of mutual understanding, from the openness or transparency, to use the fashionable term.

[Levin] I must say that this idea was stressed at her press conference by Margaret Thatcher. She said flatly that restructuring met the interests of the consolidation of peace when she was asked why she supported restructuring so actively and why she considered it exceedingly important. On that note we can quite properly end today's program.

Thank you for your attention, esteemed comrades. All the best to you.

Shevardnadze Addresses Foreign Policy Association

LD0310040189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0055 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] New York, 3 Oct (TASS)—The new processes taking place in the world must not be seen in the context of a struggle for survival between socialism and capitalism; but from the point of view of real problems: The confrontation between common sense and extremism, political dialogue and military pressure, democracy and totalitarianism. E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR foreign minister, said this here in a speech at the Foreign Policy Association in New York.

We are guided by precisely this reading of the world situation in presenting for the world community's consideration a comprehensive program for global cooperation which embraces the entire set of issues appearing on the agenda. An extensive platform for such cooperation was set out by M.S. Gorbachev in his address to the UN General Assembly session last December.

Dwelling in detail on the course of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, he stressed that the prospects for international development, including the future of Soviet-U.S. relations, must now be seen as part of any forecast for the course of perestroyka. At the talks in Washington and Wyoming we managed to make notable progress in a number of important areas, but problems still. We must ensure that the opportunities opening up are realized.

The coming Soviet-U.S. summit should bear fruit and bring about real progress with regard to curbing the arms race, E.A. Shevardnadze noted. We must now forget that other states are looking at the United States and the USSR, at the super powers. The times have passed when some states or even a considerable group of countries could decide everything in the world. Now we need a concensus and internationalist approach to global problems—not because morality demands it, but because of the objective reality—the unity and interdependence of the world.

Ryzhkov Greets UNCTAD Board Session

LD0210203189 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—Follows the full text of the message of greetings from Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to participants in the 36th session of the Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD):

My greetings to the participants in the 36th session of the Trade and Development Board on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of UNCTAD.

Over the years UNCTAD has proven itself as an authoritative and representative forum for the discussion of vital problems in the world economy and international economic relations. The fundamental documents on the restructuring of world economic ties and ensurance of their harmonious and stable development were worked out under the auspices of UNCTAD or with its active participation.

Having positively appraised UNCTAD's substantial contribution to the normalisation of international economic relations, we nevertheless must admit that many world economic problems are far from being solved.

The huge foreign debt of developing countries, the instability of the international financial system, the enhancement of protectionist, and discriminatory tendencies in world trade slow down economic growth in the majority of developing countries and in a number of cases arrest it altogether. These economic practices also aggravate the problems of famine, poverty and diseases in those countries.

A successful solution of current problems in the world economy is inseparably linked with the need to achieve a consensus on how to further the development of the world economy on the basis of a balance of interests.

In the recent years we have witnessed the ever more effective participation of the United Nations in the resolution of many problems in which national, regional and bloc interests are intertwined.

Large economic forums—the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on economic affairs and the United Nations conference on the least developed countries—to be held in near future must become important milestones in the working out of an international strategy of development, organically combining the interests of all members of the world community.

The Soviet Union, while increasing the involvement of its economy in the world economy, is prepared to interact vigorously with other countries as they search for a solution to global economic problems. This stand has recently been confirmed by the Soviet Union's supreme legislative body.

Pursuing this line, we call for the consolidation of multilateral economic cooperation, as it can be an important contribution to making the development of the world economy predictable and creating real guarantees for the economic security of states. This cooperative effect can encompass a broad range of concerns: The effort to overcome a lag in development, alleviate the burden of external indebtedness, normalise conditions for the international economic exchange.

The fundamental goals of the USSR's foreign economic policy coincide with the noble goals for which UNCTAD is striving. We see this coincidence as evidence of the Soviet Union's constructive interaction with UNCTAD, the most representative body of the United Nations General Assembly on problems of trade and development.

First Working Contacts Held With Council of Europe

PM0210110389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Session in Strasbourg"]

[Text] Paris, 23 Sep—The first session of the joint working group to develop contacts and cooperation between the Council of Europe and the Soviet Union was held in Strasbourg 19-22 September this year. The group was set up on the basis of an accord reached during M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with members of the bureau of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers in July this year.

Promising areas of cooperation at intergovernmental level with West Europe's most representative organization, which unites 23 European states, were discussed.

The Soviet delegation was headed by Ambassador Yu.S. Deryabin, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Department for Questions of Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Council of Europe Secretariat delegation by G.P. Furrer [name as transliterated], chief of the Political Department. Meetings were held with T. Stoltenberg, chairman of the Committee of Ministers and Norwegian Foreign Minister; A. Bjork, president of the Parliamentary Assembly; and C. Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe. The Soviet representatives were also familiarized with the activities of a number of specialized Council of Europe establishments.

The next session of the joint working group will be held in Moscow in October this year.

Ecology, Peace Forum Held in Moscow

PM0310095789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Session Held"]

[Text] A session of the scientific organizational committee of the worldwide movement "Ecoforum for Peace" has been held in Moscow at which the prospects for developing the movement, which combines in its activity two basic problems of modern times, were discussed: The struggle for peace and the struggle to conserve nature.

Taking into account the ever-increasing participation in the movement of prominent public figures and scientists, and their outstanding contribution to the struggle to save life on our plant, the board and the secretariat of the "Ecoforum for Peace" have instituted a "Golden Book." M.S. Gorbachev made the first entry in it: "To the Ecoforum for Peace. I welcome the peaceful ecological movement, its humanitarian ideals and noble initiatives in the struggle for peace and nature conservation. You can count on all kinds of support from the Soviet people in your activity to benefit mankind."

V. Neykov (Bulgaria), chief secretary of the worldwide movement, and Academicians I.T. Frolov and B.N. Laskorin, members of the movement's board, took part in the session.

United States & Canada

Yazov Welcomed at Airport, Honored at Pentagon

LD0210221289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The official visit to the United States by Army General Yazov, USSR minister of defense, has begun. Our correspondent B. Kalyagin reports:

[Kalyagin] For the first time in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations, a USSR minister of defense comes to America. Much importance is being attached to this event in the United States. At Andrews Air Force Base, near Washington, Army General Yazov was welcomed by U.S. Secretary of Defense Cheney. Also present was Dubinin, USSR ambassador to Washington. Despite the wet weather a large group of journalists had gathered at the airport. Richard Cheney made a brief statement for the press.

[Begin Cheney recording in English fading into Russian translation] I do not ordinarily make it a practice to meet high-ranking foreign guests at Andrews Airport, according to our rules. But insofar as this event is of historic significance, I would like to be the first to welcome you, Mr Minister, to the United States. We look forward to our discussions in Washington. I think that your visit presents considerable opportunities. We shall be able to better understand one another and broaden our knowledge of the Soviet Union's policy in the field of security, and you will be able to get a better understanding of our interests and our way of working. [end recording]

Then Army General Yazov expressed his gratitude to the U.S. side for the invitation and the interesting program for the visit.

Comrade Yazov went on to say:

[Begin Yazov recording] Despite the fact that we have arrived in wet weather, the political barometer today points at bright. We are hoping to continue those good relations and those good traditions which emerged between the Soviet and American peoples during the years of the Second World War in the struggle against our common enemy, fascism.

Our main task and single desire, despite the fact that we are a military delegation, still we have come with good intentions to strengthen peace, good-neighborliness, and friendly relations between our people. [sentence as heard] I wish the people of the United States prosperity and good health. Thank you, gentlemen. [end recording]

[Kalyagin] According to U.S. tradition, the meeting at the airport is of an official nature. The main ceremony of the Soviet defense minister's visit to the United States took place at the Pentagon building, although, because of the continuous rain, it had to be cut short. The guard of honor, made up the three arms of the service—airmen, ground troops, and the marines—gave the salute to the two countries' defense ministers. [video shows Yazov and wife descending aircraft steps, followed by entourage, welcomed by Cheney and others; Cheney speaking to newsmen with Yazov and others looking on; Yazov speaking; Yazov alighting from car outside the Pentagon with Cheney and others; Yazov taking salute from honor guard]

The military sphere is that sphere where the transition from confrontation to dialogue is usually particularly difficult. It was here that the image of an enemy was precipitated with the greatest persistence. It is all the more gratifying that this year there has been a noticable reviving and broadening of military contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States. Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Committee of Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces has visited our country, and Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev has been to the United States. There was a big reaction to the visit of Soviet ships to the U.S. port of Norfolk, and that of United States' vessels to Sevastopol. All this is the visible result of the increase in trust between our two peoples and changes for the better which have also embraced the military sphere. [video shows Kalyagin outside defense department building]

And so, a new important landmark in the development of a Soviet-U.S. dialogue. After the completion of the official ceremony of the meeting, one-to-one talks took place between Comrade Yazov and Richard Cheney. They discussed the possibilities of the further development of military ties between the two countries. Later, a plenary session of the USSR and U.S. military delegations was held.

During the course of his stay in the United States, the Soviet defense minister will meet the country's political and military leaders, visit troop units and address the U.S. National Defense University. This visit should place Soviet-U.S. contacts in the military sphere on a higher level. [video shows Yazov meeting Cheney; two sides in discussion across long table]

Yazov Meets Powell, Gives Speech at Dinner

LD0310004989 Moscow TASS in English 0030 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Washington October 3 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister General Dmitriy Yazov, on an official visit to the United States, on Monday met Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General Colin Powell and other U.S. Defence Department officials.

They discussed issues of mutual interest and pointed to the importance of broadening military contacts at various levels for the further development and deepening of Soviet-U.S. relations.

The meeting, held in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding, was attended by Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Dubinin.

In the second half of the day, Yazov visited the Arlington National Cemetery in Washington, where he was greeted by a guard of honour.

Yazov laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier, after which a military band played the national anthems of the Soviet Union and the United States.

In the evening, U.S. Defence Secretary Dick Cheney gave dinner for the Soviet defence minister. At the dinner, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, Cheney and Yazov exchanged speeches.

On Tuesday, the Soviet military delegation is leaving for New York, where Yazov is expected to address the council on foreign relations.

Bush Cited on Prospects for Strategic Arms Treaty

PM0310083989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Sep 89 second Edition p 1

[TASS dispatch: "Meeting Half-Way"]

[Text] Washington, 28 Sep—There is a "real likelihood" that the United States and the Soviet Union will be ready to sign a treaty on the redution of their strategic arsenals during the summit planned for late spring or early summer of next year. This view was expressed by U.S. President G. Bush in conversation with a group of journalists in the White House on Wednesday.

"There were times," the President continued, "which, I am sure, you all remember, when it was very difficult even to raise certain questions without running into a rhetorical rebuttal. Now it is possible to talk about anything very openly. I believe that this is a very constructive factor. I would like to thank the Soviet leadership which is conducting the dialogue with us in this key."

The head of the U.S. Administration again emphasized that Washington was not ready for a total ban or moratorium on nuclear tests, as proposed by the USSR.

Bush rejected the Soviet Union's proposal for the complete destruction of chemical weapons, pointing out that the United States is prepared to discuss this question only within the framework of a multilateral agreement. "We must feel that there is a certain potential of deterrence, we must have certain levers to exert pressure on many other countries which engage in the proliferation of these weapons so as to be able to make them agree to what the world is thirsting for—the conclusion of an agreement on a total ban on these weapons," he said.

China

Message Marks 40th Anniversary of Ties With PRC

PM0310101789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR leadership greetings message]

[Text] To Comrade Yang Shangkun, PRC president
To Comrade Wan Li, president of the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee;
To Comrade Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council.

Esteemed Comrades!

Our countries are celebrating a portentous date—the 40th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet-Chinese diplomatic relations, which reflected our two peoples' will for good-neighborliness and friendship.

In this jubilee year mutual relations between the USSR and the PRC have entered a qualitatively new stage. The historic May summit between the two countries' top leaders in Beijing marked their complete normalization and opened up for the Soviet and Chinese peoples extensive horizons for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation.

We are confident that the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations based on the universal principles of international intercourse is in keeping with the interests of the Soviet Union and China, and with the cause of strengthening universal peace and security.

We wish the Chinese people well-being and prosperity, and we hope that they achieve new successes in socialist building.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
The USSR Council of Ministers

PRAVDA Cites Jiang Zemin on PRC Jubilee

PM0310095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On the PRC Jubilee"]

[Text] Beijing, 29 Sep—The birth, strengthening, and development of the socialist system has been the objective result of the progress of Chinese society and a major turning point in the country's history. This was stated here today by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, at a ceremonial public meeting to mark the 40th anniversary of the PRC's formation.

Socialism, he noted, means a process of constant self-improvement. China's cardinal task is to ensure the progressive development of society's productive forces and the concentration of efforts on economic building on the basis of Chinese realities. In the speaker's words, the course of reform and the development of ties with the outside world proclaimed 10 years ago has opened up extensive new opportunities for the country.

The general secretary of the CPC Central Committee pointed to the great importance of the CPC's vanguard role in socialist building.

Further on PRC National Day Celebrations

OW0210151289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 1 Oct 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, a major holiday of the Chinese people, representatives of various social circles in Moscow held a grand ceremony in the hall of Moscow's Trade Union Building to celebrate New China's red-letter day. Attending the ceremony were workers of local enterprises, many of which had enjoyed years of cooperation with Chinese factories; intellectuals from the literary and art circles; Sinologists; college and high school students studying the Chinese language; and Soviet experts who had worked in China previously. Also attending were personnel from the Chinese Embassy in Moscow and Chinese students studying in Moscow's institutions of higher learning.

Before the ceremony began, participants shook hands with each other in a friendly way and conversed warmly. The hall was full of festive atmosphere.

V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Y.S. Karabasov, secretary of the Moscow City party committee; N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; responsible persons of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the All-Union Komsomol; representatives of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society; Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union; and Liu Gengyin, vice president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, attended the ceremony. Participants warmly applauded as they climbed up the rostrum. The band played the Soviet and Chinese national anthems. Young Pioneers in Moscow presented flowers to the Chinese guests.

N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, spoke. He said: [Begin Laverov recording in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] October 1, 1946 will be recorded in history as the day of victory in the struggle of the Chinese Communists, the fine sons and daughters of the Chinese people. The victory of the Chinese revolution is truly of historical significance in the world. The birth of a new socialist country has strengthened the position of world socialism. After taking over political power, in a historically very short period, Chinese working people, under the leadership of the CPC, have lifted China, a country with hundreds of millions of people, out of a backward, semicolonial state. Today, China is carrying out bold, profound reform in all areas of social life. It is performing the complicated task of socialist modernization and tapping the immense potential of the socialist system. The Soviet Union seriously studies and highly appraises China's experience in this regard. From the bottom of their hearts, the Soviet people feel happy about the major achievements of the Chinese working people. They feel deep friendship and respect toward their friendly neighbors. They wholly support the results of the Soviet-Chinese summit, the normalization of relations between the two countries, and the restoration of party-to-party relations between the CPSU and the CPC. We firmly believe that our two countries and peoples, as well as the parties, will fully display the immense power of good-neighborly relations. The agreement reached at the Soviet-Chinese summit has been enriched with new contents. It has become more profound and vital. Cooperation between the legislative bodies of the two countries has also been developing. The recent official visit to China by a delegation of the Supreme Soviet, led by Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, is such an example. Trade, economic, and science and technology cooperation between the two countries is developing and expanding. At present, a long-term plan for cooperation extending to the year 2000 is being devised. Contact between youth, trade union, and women's organizations has also increased. This is a characteristic of our bilateral relations. Exchanges between Soviet and Chinese associations of literature, art, and film-making have become more frequent. Friendship societies of the two countries are working together with good results.

Laverov concluded: [Begin Laverov recording in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] In celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, the Soviet people firmly believe that cooperation and friendship between the Soviet Union and China will continue to expand and strengthen to the advantage of the two peoples and in the interest of socialism and peace. Dear distinguished Chinese guests, please allow me to extend sincere greetings to you and through you to the Chinese people, wishing them success in work, prosperity, peace, wealth, and happiness.

Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union, also spoke at the grand ceremony.

[Begin Yu Hongliang recording] On behalf of the Chinese people, I would like to use this opportunity to extend deep respect and cordial greetings to the great Soviet people. The birth of the PRC in 1949 put an end to the rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, and opened a new era in Chinese history. The Chinese and Soviet people have deep traditional friendship. In the long period of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction, the two peoples have constantly supported and helped each other. The Chinese people have always cherished and will never forget the Soviet people's assistance. [end recording]

Comrade Yu Hongliang briefed those from the Soviet social circles on the progress of China's economic and political reform. He then spoke of the present stage of development of Soviet-Chinese relations.

[Begin Yu Hongliang recording] Comrade Gorbachev successfully visited our country and held a summit with our leader last May. In the spirit of putting an end to the past and opening up the future, the leaders of the two countries established the new pattern of neighborly and friendly relations based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The normalization of relations between the two parties and countries accords with the fundamental interests and common wishes of the two peoples. It is conducive to peace and stability in Asia and in the world. We deeply believe that the direction established at the summit will enable friendship and cooperation between our two great socialist countries to develop with fruitful results. [end recording]

A concert was held after the ceremony.

China Rail Link Seen Reviving 'Silk Road'

PM0310100189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondent V. Ovchinnikov dispatch: "Letter From China: Forty Is the Age of Maturity"]

[Excerpts] Beijing-Moscow—October 1 marks the PRC's 40th anniversary. This, of course, is a landmark in history. But for me personally, it is also part of my own life. It so happened that I first traveled to Beijing and started my career in journalism as PRAVDA's youngest foreign correspondent on the eve of the PRC's fourth anniversary. [passage omitted]

"Now that relations between Beijing and Moscow have been normalized, the policy of openness should be applied more actively with regard to the Soviet Union. The development of trade, economic, scientific, and technical links will strengthen the material basis of good-neighborliness," Dong Jichang, deputy secretary of the Shanxi Province party committee, told me in Xi'an, administrative center of Shanxi Province. "In ancient times our city was the starting point of the Great Silk Road. We were glad to hear about the construction of a railroad to link the PRC and USSR transport networks via Xinjiang and Kazakhstan. A railroad will then run through Xi'an from the port of Lianyungang on the Yellow Sea to Rotterdam on the North Sea. We are thereby, as it were, resurrecting the Great Silk Road of old..."

People in Beijing believe that, since the world center of business activity is shifting from the Atlantic to the Pacific, European interest in Asia will increase substantially in the nineties, and there will be increased collaboration between the two continents. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is particularly important against the backdrop of these new trends in world economic relations. Cooperation between our countries could accelerate economic integration in the region and be a catalyst for the pan-Asian process.

A 40th birthday marks the age of maturity. Socialist China is greeting its anniversary as a responsible member of the international community that has grown wise with experience. It is gratifying that it is using its power and influence increasingly actively to promote the resolution of the urgent problems of the day and to ensure mankind's survival and further progress.

Northeast Asia

Soviet Fishing Vessel Repaired in South Korea

SK0210033589 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 21 Sep 89

[From "The Program To Highlight the Soviet Primorskiy Kray"]

[Text] The (Gerak), a fishing vessel, has returned to Vladivostok after being repaired in South Korea. This vessel belongs to a fishery kolkhoz, and this is for the first time that a fishery kolkhoz has had a vessel repaired in South Korea. (Yuriy Loginov), vice chairman of the Fishery Kolkhoz Union of the Primorskiy Kray, commented as follows:

It is to our advantage that we get our vessels repaired in South Korea. The time required for the repair work and the quality of the repair work were satisfactory. South Korea is located near the Soviet Union as a base for repairing ships.

The types of cooperation with our overseas partners are quite varied. We work together to catch fish, process raw materials, and produce goods to sell to [word indistinct]. In this case we did business under the aegis of the Soviet-Japanese joint venture company, (Sonik). This company was established a little more than a year ago. The basic operation of this joint venture company is aimed at strengthening the material and technological base, based on Japan's modern know-how and facilities and our raw materials. In the future, we may be able to develop direct relations with the South Korean ship-repair enterprises on the principle of barter trade.

(Yevgeniy Linyanov), captain of the (Gerak), came to South Korea for the first time, and gave his impressions of it as follows:

We arrived at the port of Pusan on 11 July and stayed there for 2 months. We had only heard about South Korea before, but now we were able to see it with our own eyes. The people there treated us very kindly with a lot of goodwill. For the first several days during our work, we could feel their somewhat cool and cautious air, but this soon disappeared in the course of our association with them.

Our vessel, manufactured on a trial basis, specializes in detecting shoals of fish. The fishermen of our Vostok

Kolkhoz bought this vessel to catch crabs and process them. We will be producing crab meat and powdered crab shell, which does not produce any industrial waste. Our first task to do now is to go to a fishing ground and make an on-the-spot trial of the operation of the new fishing vessel.

All of the 50 crew members of our vessel participated in the repair work. This was because we had to do a lot of work which had nothing to do with the South Korean ship repairmen. For instance, the Taesong Shipbuilding Company in Pusan did an outstanding repair job on the hull of the ship, but did not do any repair work on the auxiliary motors. Therefore, our crew members undertook this task. Thereafter, joint work teams were organized, and the Soviet and South Korean technicians worked shoulder to shoulder.

The South Korean ship repairmen did a tremendous volume of work. They completed the work, which would have taken our enterprise in the Primorskiy Kray 1 year to do, in 45 days in Pusan. The South Korean people worked 17 hours each day, and they sometimes worked 19 hours a day, working on holidays as well. Of course, we also worked till late at night without holidays, keying ourselves up for the work.

The Taesong Shipbuilding Company arranged an inspection tour for our ship's crew, and our crew members had a very good impression of the tour.

The only major problem I had was that I could not speak English. I learned German, but all the South Korean workers spoke English. Therefore, I had to communicate with [name indistinct], the manager of the ship repair team, and his colleagues through an interpreter. However, toward the completion of the repair work we could make ourselves understood to each other quickly. Our ship's crew members were better off than I. Because all the crew members learned English, they could talk actively with the South Korean colleagues in a few days. We parted good friends. If we meet again in several years, I think we will be very glad.

(Yevgeniy Linyanov), made those comments. The fishery kolkhozes in the Primorskiy Kray are making active advances into foreign markets, by such means as establishing joint venture enterprises with overseas companies, and we are very pleased with our first successful experience in which we cooperated with the South Korean ship repairmen.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

USSR, U.S. Share Identical Stance on Cambodia

BK0310073989 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Commentary by station observer Oleg Alekseyev]

[Text] Vietnamese troops will not return to Cambodia under any circumstances. This is what Vietnamese Foreign Minister Comrade Nguyen Co Thach told reporters. The comrade considered groundless the accusation that not all Vietnamese troops had been withdrawn from Cambodia. If we left behind even a small number of our troops in Cambodia, we would be violating the obligation we had promised to carry out and also various international agreements already signed, he said. This accusation is aimed at creating a pretext to continue supplying military aid to opposing Cambodian sides, primarily the Polpotists.

This conclusion by the Vietnamese foreign minister is, in the view of our observer Comrade Oleg Alekseyev, not a speculative one because some people have been anticipating for a long time this pretext to continue providing military aid to opposing Cambodian sides, even before all Vietnamese were withdrawn from Cambodia. The Polpotists were in the forefront of these people who have been looking for this pretext. Since August, at the Paris international conference on Cambodia, representatives of the Pol Pot group fabricated the story that some Vietnamese troops continued to stay in Cambodia even before the deadline for the troop withdrawal. At that time, propaganda networks in many countries, including Southeast Asia, considered Pol Pot's propaganda ploy an attempt to hinder international efforts aimed at ending the supply of weapons to Cambodian parties. It is quite obvious that Pol Pot ringleaders still want to receive foreign weapons and ammunition in the future. The Polpotists have clearly told the people that in whatever circumstances, they will continue the armed struggle to seize power. Furthermore, there are sufficient reasons to believe that the Polpotists are preparing for offensives against government troops in Cambodia. This goal certainly cannot be achieved without outside military aid.

In our view, anyone who really wants a genuine solution to the Cambodian problem should understand that this solution cannot be achieved without the rebuilding and safeguarding of peace in Cambodia. In the current situation, this peace can only be achieved based on the complete end of military aid to warring Cambodian sides. The efforts of all concerned countries should be aimed at achieving the above goals. This is the position the Soviet Union has always adhered to. This position, in line with the interest of a solution to the Cambodian problem, is taking firm root in the world.

On this issue, we would like to recall that only recently the U.S. Government stated its stance, which is identical to that of the Soviet Union. At the talks held in September between Soviet Foreign Minister Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, the two sides expressed their readiness to cooperate with other countries in announcing the end of military aid to various Cambodian groups as part of their joint contribution for a comprehensive solution.

Commentator Discusses Foreign Troops Issue

BK0110043089 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] Looking back on recent events, one can clearly see that there had been frequent attempts to send troops to foreign countries. Does this help eliminate a hot spot? Does this change people's attitudes on regional conflicts? On these issues, here are the views of our commentator Mikhail Mayurov:

On 15 February this year, the last Soviet troops left Afghanistan. This week, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia was completed. There are no more Cuban troops in Ethiopia; they are also leaving Angola. I will leave out the real circumstances which led to the dispatch of troops into other countries. The situation in each of these countries has its own peculiar conditions. I myself cannot provide a single answer to the question: Does the presence of foreign troops play only a negative role in the evolution of the situation? For the most part, a foreign presence has stabilized the situation in this or that region where there is fighting. In any case, foreign troops have already left or are leaving certain areas. Let us try to ask the question in a different way. What prompts a solution to these conflicts—the presence of foreign troops or the decision to pull them out? It is not difficult to answer this question.

The withdrawal of foreign troops eliminates factors hindering negotiations to end fighting. One can compare the situation in and around Afghanistan before and after 15 February. The conflict has not ended; however, the prospect of a solution clearly emerged after Soviet troops returned home. In Angola, the first signs of mutual understanding between the government and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group emerged after units of the Cuban troops started to withdraw. The chance for peace also has improved in Cambodia where there are no more Vietnamese troops in the country.

Each of these conflicts was apparently created to cause headaches to the foreign ministers. It takes time before some light appears at the end of the tunnel and until resolutions are adopted, changing the attitudes based on military strength to adopting political attitudes. U.S. citizens joke that the light at the end of the tunnel should not be transformed into a moving train's headlights.

Finally, our commentator Mikhail Mayurov draws the following conclusions. In Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Angola, there are no more dangers that could prolong fratricidal fighting. In my view, the withdrawal of foreign troops remains a precious example in our era; an example of a new outlook.

Official Queried on USSR-Philippines Cooperation

HK0210041189 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Interview with Supreme Soviet official Fikryat Tabeyev, member of the Commission on International Affairs—place, date not given]

[Excerpts] This year, a Soviet parliamentary delegation attended the ASEAN countries' Interparliamentary Conference in Manila. The Soviet delegation included Fikryat Tabeyev, a member of the Supreme Soviet and of the Parliamentary Commission on International Affairs. Upon his arrival from Manila, he answered questions from our correspondent.

[Passage omitted]

[Tabeyev in Russian with superimposed Tagalog translation] Our contacts with the various ASEAN parliaments have increased, and during the past 2 years our officials have visited the Philippines twice, as well as Singapore and Indonesia. In the near future, some Filipino senators and congressmen will visit the Soviet Union.

[Unnamed reporter] A new accord between some ASEAN countries and the Soviet republics has been set up, underscored during President Suharto's recent visit when he discussed economic cooperation between Indonesia and Uzbekistan. As deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, can you envision a similar arrangement with the Philippines?

[Tabeyev] We were surprised and pleased to find among Filipino businessmen the desire to set up trade ties with our republics, especially with those in the eastern region of our country. Some contracts were signed involving shoemaking and textile enterprises. We will supply the Philippines with raw materials and receive the finished products from them. This will enable us to obtain high quality products as well as provide Filipinos with jobs. We are also prepared to help set up hydro-electric and thermal power stations, [words indistinct], and install railway tracks. Talks are going on at present to determine which agricultural products we can import from the Philippines.

[Reporter] What are the prospects for the success of the ties between the Soviet Union and the Philippines?

[Tabeyev] Based on the results of our talks, we have decided to make this relationship a permanent one. Our cooperation will ensure wider exchanges of expertise in organizing parliamentary procedures. We will be able to engage in political consultations, where our position on international issues can be explained to the Philippine legislators. Officials on both sides agree on the need to reduce all military threats and to strengthen security in the Asia-Pacific region. Likewise, we share the same hopes for the need to put an end to militarization in the region, to halt the nuclear arms race, and to speedily set up a convention banning chemical weapons. As I said earlier, we are expecting a visit to the Soviet Union by Filipino legislators. As a result of their visit, we hope to reach an agreement setting up a permanent alliance between the Supreme Soviet and the Philippine Congress. This alliance will take up cooperative, political and other issues. In my opinion, this is the first step in ensuring successful relations between the Philippines and the Soviet Union.

Aleksandrov Comments on Life, Death of Marcos

HK3009054389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov on death of former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos]

[Text] The death in exile of the man who ruled the Philippines for 2 decades was given much attention by the world press. According to Philippine political writer Hernando Abaya, Marcos rose to power in 1965 when the United States through Uncle Sam chose him over Macapagal. But Marcos at the time strongly denied being an American boy. Yet, his softness toward external pressure surprised even his friends. Actually, the reason for this attitude is quite simple.

Marcos was launched to his predominant position due to his special relations with many parties, including his total dependence on U.S. capital and maintenance of U.S. military presence in the Philippines. The special nature of U.S.-Philippines relations had a direct impact on the political and economic programs of the country under the Marcos administration, In particular, it led to a very thin line spelling success or failure in the country.

Marcos was indeed quite popular at the beginning of his rule, but his popularity was later undermined by some of his foreign policies, such as his involvement as a U.S. ally in the Indochinese War. However, shrewd politician that he was, Marcos succeeded in staying in power as president of his country by virtue of his adaptability. He faced the rising growth of nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiments in society squarely, and opened the way for the normalization of relations between the Philippines and socialist countries including the Soviet Union.

However, generally speaking, the New Society envisioned by Marcos was a failure. Even martial law failed to check the spread of civil unrest in the country as the country's situation deteriorated due to rampant corruption which also involved Marcos and his wife Imelda. Eventually, it would lead to his fall from power.

The declining fortunes of Marcos did not stop with his fall. Even his treatment by Uncle Sam changed. First, he was given a house after his escape from the Philippines, but was later charged with financial maschination in U.S. court. In the end, Marcos succumbed to disease. In death, as in life, he continues to exercise a strong effect on Philippine society. The issue concerning his burial simply confirms his vast influence in the Philippines. Only history can judge him now.

Near East & South Asia

Rocket Explodes Near New Soviet Kabul Embassy Site

LD0310080889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0749 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Kabul, 3 Oct (TASS) On Monday [3 October], the Afghan capital was once again subjected to shelling by extremists. One of the rocket missiles exploded on the territory of the construction site of the new complex of the Soviet Embassy in Kabul, where Afghan workers were at that time. By a fortunate coincidence no one was injured; however, a construction firm storehouse was destroyed.

Another missile fell on an Afghan family's house which was situated a few dozen meters away from the construction site's fence. A woman and two children were injured.

Armistice Seen as Way Forward in Afghanistan

PM2809141589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[International observer V. Vinogradov article under the rubric "The World Today: Problems, Judgments": "When Force Is Powerless"]

[Text] "The 'war on drugs' declared by U.S. President G. Bush has seriously worried the CIA-supported Afghan rebels, who are deeply involved in the drug business," the U.S. weekly NEWSWEEK wrote in a recent issue. For it is known that those parts of Afghanistan where there are large poppy plantations are under the full control of the mujahidin, and production of opium from these poppies has recently expanded appreciably.

The rebels seemed not to be worried for nothing, the magazine pointed out. At Washington's insistence an urgent meeting of official U.S. and mujahidin representatives was held precisely on the question of the drugs business. There the U.S. side made serious complaints against the rebels. But if you think that this was in connection with the increase in the drugs they are putting on sale, you are mistaken. The Americans, it turns out, expressed their discontent, as NEWSWEEK attests, in connection with the fierce battles being waged among different opposition groupings for control over the Afghan regions adjacent to Pakistan where opium poppies are grown in abundance. In the opinion of the U.S. representatives, the magazine emphasizes, the "drug war" is having a negative effect on the attempts by the "intransigents" to overthrow the Kabul government.

The NEWSWEEK report undoubtedly sheds additional light on one of the causes of the protracted internecine clashes, into which the armed formations of G. Hikmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" [IPA], B. Rabbani's

"Islamic Society of Afghanistan" [ISA], and certain other opposition groupings have been drawn. The desire to gain control over as many opium poppy-growing regions as possible and then to "warm their hands" on sales of drugs—this is what really guides the leaders of the "intransigent" opposition, who verbally declare that they seek Afghanistan's "liberation."

It is quite understandable that Washington, which made a considerable effort to knock together a "united front" from the ill-assorted Afghan opposition, is displaying increased nervousness. The "united front" is collapsing, while the United States now, 7 months after the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the French newspaper LIBERATION attests, "has not resolved a single task that it set itself and has ended up in an Afghan impasse." President Najibullah continues to occupy the palace at Dar ol Aman in Kabul, while mujahidin armed to the teeth have turned their weapons on each other.

The rebels' unity has always been fragile, and it took U.S. pressure and manipulation by the Pakistani special services to neutralize their religious and tribal differences, the London newspaper THE TIMES points out. The "transitional government" created in February this year on the basis of a political compromise has been unable to guarantee mujahidin unity, which was seriously shaken after the unsuccessful siege of Jalalabad. Open clashes have begun between the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, and hostility has also increased between the Sunni mujahidin based in Pakistan and the Shiite mujahidin backed by Iran. Things have reached the point where G. Hikmatyar has withdrawn his Islamic Party of Afghanistan from the Peshawar "alliance of seven." And since his Islamic Party of Afghanistan IPA was the largest grouping in that alliance and received the lion's share of the weapons supplied by the Americans, the prestige of the "transitional government" has fallen to its lowest level. Even in the eyes of the Americans, who have begun making military deliveries directly to field commanders, bypassing the leadership of the Peshawar seven.

It has to be admitted, however, that this flow is not easing. As P. Tomsen, the U.S. President's special representative to the armed Afghan opposition, declared in an interview with the Abu Dhabi-published newspaper KHALEEJ TIMES, the United States will continue to give military aid to antigovernment forces, "as long as they intend to struggle." He emphasized that at present the opposition is "obtaining sufficient weapons to wage war in both the quantitative and the qualitative respects." And this is so despite the fact that back at the very height of the fighting at Jalalabad, E. MacWilliams, while counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, had reported to Washington that the United States was handing the political initiative to the Najibullah regime.

It is true that Washington did not disregard the sober assessment of events made by the embassy counselor. E. MacWilliams was recalled from Kabul, and new consignments of weapons and military equipment were sent for the rebels. The strategists in the U.S. capital were clearly in a hurry. November will see the end of the "combat operations season," as they define it, since snow will cover the secret trails and make it extremely difficult for the armed opposition to conduct active operations until April. In addition, Washington is justly afraid: Will the "intransigents" have sufficient strength and desire to resume combat operations next spring?

Certain circles in the United States and Pakistan are therefore continuing to urge on the "intransigents." For example, insistent demands are being made to launch a "determined attack" on the Afghan capital. However, the mujahidin are in no hurry at all to fulfill them, evidently remembering the lessons of Jalalabad and Khowst. Instead, they are stepping up the shelling of residential districts of Kabul, increasing the number of casualties among the peaceful population. These monstrous actions have assumed a particularly barbarous nature since the rebels began using improved U.S. rockets in their bombardments, including cluster rockets designed especially to hit as many people as possible.

It is obviously in precisely this connection that more and more Afghans are taking a sharply critical stand with regard to the United States which, contrary to the Geneva agreements, is increasing weapons deliveries to the mujahidin. The Indian newspaper NATIONAL HERALD directly points this out, writing that "the continuing civil war, the rocketing of Kabul, and the negative U.S. and Pakistani attitude to a political settlement are incling public opinion in Afghanistan against the Americans." At the same time the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the Republic of Afghanistan government is winning more and more supporters. Particularly President Najibullah's recent proposals, which boil down to establishing an armistice, creating a broad-based transitional coalition government, and holding truly free elections. Suffice it to say that many field commanders have already responded to Najibullah's appeal to renounce combat operations on condition that they retain control over the corresponding zones and the population is provided with everything necessary.

It is quite obvious that these are flexible and far-reaching proposals whose adoption could help to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan and serve as the starting point from which it would be possible to begin progress toward a future peaceful Afghanistan. Many people outside the country understand this, too. Thus, the Muscat-published newspaper 'UMAN emphasizes that Najibullah's proposals are the only alternative to the continuing war in Afghanistan. Neither the present Kabul government nor the opposition, it points out, is in a position to score a decisive victory in the foreseeable future. (For our part, we consider it necessary to add that "the present Kabul government" does not even seek this). Therefore, rejection of a settlement of the conflict by peaceful means denotes the pointless continuation of the armed confrontation that is draining the strength of both sides. "Elections, not a war, must determine who in Afghanistan is more worthy of governing the country," 'UMAN concludes.

But the Peshawar "alliance of seven," encouraged by Washington and urged on by Islamabad rejects all of Kabul's proposals and continues to gamble on force of arms. One wonders why? The answer to this question is not a closed book. It is evidently because it has no confidence (how could it have?) that in elections the Afghan people would cast their votes for representatives of the "intransigents."

However, the attempts of those who still hope to debar the present Afghan government from involvement in deciding the country's fate are in vain. They are groundless illusions. "The Najibullah government is holding on fine," the French TF-1 television company states. It is echoed by the Arab newspaper GULF NEWS: "The government in Kabul is the most effective force in Afghanistan, which is a country torn by internecine strife, and this must not be disregarded."

So, the sooner the opposition and its patrons in Washington and Islamabad understand this, realize the futility of the policy of trying to remove the Najibullah government by force, and give the Afghans an opportunity to make their own choice, the sooner long-awaited peace will come to Afghanistan's long-suffering land. The time for cardinal decisions has come.

Shevardnadze Confers With More Officials at UN

Egypt's Mubarak, Iran's Velayati

LD3009112989 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 30 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Egyptian President Husni Mubarak on Friday.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the dynamic development of Soviet-Egyptian relations and confirmed their countries' desire to broaden them and continue contacts at various levels.

Shevardnadze and Mubarak called for increased efforts towards peace in the Middle East and pointed to the usefulness of using various forms of establishing the peace process, including dialogue between interested sides.

They expressed their common view that a comprehensive Middle East settlement is possible only through convening an international conference with the participation of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, and said the U.N. Security Council's permanent members could afford guarantees of settlement.

Shevardnadze told Mubarak about major results of his talks with U.S. leaders.

The Egyptian president spoke highly of the recent Soviet-U.S. agreements. He expressed support for the Soviet Union's initiatives in world affairs and pointed to consonance of Moscow's and Cairo's approaches to transition from confrontation to cooperation and development on a global scale.

The Soviet foreign minister also met his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

The ministers discussed Iran-Iraq settlement and the role the United Nations and the U.N. secretary general should play in overcoming the existing difficulties.

They considered a number of issues concerning Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation and confirmed their countries' striving for its further development.

The [word indistinct] expressed confidence that all economic plans, worked out in the Moscow talks between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani in June, will be implemented.

Arab League Secretary General

LD0110104789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] New York, 1 Oct (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze received C. Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League states, at the latter's request. The conversation focused mainly on the situation in the Near and Middle East from the viewpoint of the invigoration of efforts toward a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, of the Lebanon crisis, and toward advancement in the Iran-Iraq talks. An exchange of opinions also took place concerning the question of helping to end the bloodshed in Afghanistan.

Satisfaction at the development of cooperation between the USSR and the Arab League states was expressed on both sides.

Bangladesh Foreign Minister

LD0110122289 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 1 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze had a meeting with Bangladesh Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud here.

The ministers stated that positive trends are gaining momentum in the international arena. This creates favourable conditions for a settlement of regional conflicts.

They pointed to the need for observing Geneva accords on Afghanistan and examined prospects for a Cambodian settlement.

Mahmud described how Bangladesh implements plans of its national construction and expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for support given during the establishment of the country's national indpendence.

The sides expressed the desire of the two countries to follow the road of the development of all-round relations. They called attention to the need to strengthen the contractual and legal basis of relations between the USSR and Bangladesh.

Republication of 'Satanic Verses' Criticized

NC0210133589 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, as was reported, Salman Rushdie's "The Satanic Verses" will be republished in Britain next year by Penguin books, the same publishing house which published it last year.

Iran's mass media have strongly condemned this. Thus, the world has once again focused its attention on "The Satanic Verses." Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes on this:

"The Satanic Verses" by British author Salman Rushdie has become a controversial issue, not only in the cultural world but also in social life. This novel became the center of considerable politicking involving a variety of forces.

If we analyze these incidents carefully, we will see certain points that are directly linked with the publication of "The Satanic Verses." The book was published for the first time in mid-1988 when Tehran had revived its contacts with western countries after great efforts. On 25 June 1988, Iran resumed its relations with France. On 4 December of the same year, it resumed its diplomatic relations with Britain. The Islamic Republic's political and economic relations and contacts with Italy, West Germany, and Canada increased and intensified markedly. Anti-Iranian hysteria practically ceased in Europe, and a true opportunity for the normalization of the international atmosphere emerged. It was under these conditions that "The Satanic Verses" came out. The West rejected the Iranian Government's request to ban and prevent the publication of this book which, in Tehran's view, was insulting to Muslims, and thus actually provoked and fanned the flames of the West's collision with Iran. As a result, a crisis arose in the relations between Iran and Western governments, and bilateral talks were severed.

This story is being repeated today.

As you know, the new Iranian Government has stated its readiness to cooperate with all the countries of the world except two or three governments. Thus, once again true opportunities for mutual understanding arose.

Under such conditions and at this juncture, the republication of "The Satanic Verses" assumes a sufficiently provocative nature. One would think that there are certain forces in the West that are trying to force Tehran to adopt strong decisions and steps in order to exploit these for their ill-intended propaganda objectives.

We should recall that much of the responsibility for this conflict lies on the shoulders of the Western governments' mass media, which are resorting to all possible means to fan the flame of the commotion around "The Satanic Verses." The West, at any rate, is displaying its complete indifference toward the religious sentiments of pious Muslims and considers the right of absolute truth to be its monopoly.

Meanwhile, it should be pointed out that the incidents that are intensifying around Salman Rushdie's book also have another aspect. These incidents very clearly show how unacceptable fanaticism and the absence of compromise are in politics. In today's complicated world, displaying tolerance toward others' beliefs constitutes one of the most important priorities in international policy. The heated sentiments around "The Satanic Verses" have led to tragic bloodshed until now. For example, during clashes after the publication of this novel, dozens were killed and nearly 100 wounded in India. During the past year, four attempts were made to blow up bookshops selling the Penguin version of the novel in Great Britain. The book's author, Salman Rushdie, continues to live in hiding.

Naturally such an exacerbated situation does not benefit any of those involved in the conflict. Under such circumstances, alertness, sagacity, and the prevention of sentiments from overflowing become more important than at any other time. All necessary steps should be taken in order to prevent expressions of hatred and rage.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Shevardnadze Meets With African Leaders

Somali Foreign Minister

LD0110122189 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 1 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Somalian Foreign Minister Abdurahman Jama Barre.

They expressed unanimous desire to develop bilateral relations in different spheres and strengthen their treaty and legal basis.

Special attention was paid to the problems of the African Horn. The Somalian minister expressed concern about the current situation there. Shevardnadze pointed out that the situation should be settled by reason rather than arms.

The Soviet foreign minister also said that the Soviet Union supported the Somalian Government's intention to improve relations with Ethiopia.

Ethiopian Counterpart

LD0110122589 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 1 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze met with Ethiopian Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayih here.

The Ethiopian minister informed him of his country's efforts to normalise relations with neighbouring states—Somalia and Sudan, as well as of the recent talks between representatives of the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front, which will be continued. The Soviet side supported these steps which were taken by Addis Ababa and welcomed by the international community.

Bayih described measures carried out by the Ethiopian leadership to step up business activities in the country. These measures are aimed at raising living standards of the population. Favourable weather conditions contributed to such a situation that there is, actually, no threat of hunger in Ethiopia.

Shevardnadze described how African issues had been discussed at the recent talks with the U.S. secretary of state.

The ministers expressed satisfaction with the state of Soviet- Ethiopian relations.

Zairian Foreign Minister

LD0110133289 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 1 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze had a meeting with Nguz a Karl-i-Bond, Zairian state commissioner for foreign affairs, here.

When discussing issues of bilateral relations, the sides noted that their level does not conform to the possibilities of the USSR and Zaire. They recognised the need for putting an economic base under these relations.

The sides noted that their appraisal of African problems was identical or similar. The Zairian minister declared his country's readiness to continue mediation in an intra-Angolan settlement.

The Soviet side confirmed its support for understandings reached by the African heads of state in Gbadolite. Karl-i-Bond praised the Soviet role in the search for a political settlement of problems in southwest Africa.

East Europe

Reportage, Comment on GDR Emigrees Issue

Falin Praises GDR Decision

AU0210091889 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 2 Oct 89 p 4

[Interview with Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, by Hans-Ruediger Karutz in Berlin on 1 October: "The GDR Made the Right Decision"]

[Text] Karutz: Does the Soviet leadership view the situation in the GDR with concern?

Falin: I would say that there are such stages in the development of all countries—the FRG included. They can certainly give rise to thoughts—partly also to concern. Basically, this is a normal state in any dynamic society. The matters in the GDR, which the Western mass media have partly exaggerated, have, I think, been correctly decided by the GDR leadership, in the interest of the people and the state.

Karutz: In 5 days Gorbachev will come to Berlin to attend the GDR's 40th anniversary. Will he have something trailblazing to say to the Germans in the East and the West?

Falin: Yes, I think so. The time is very important and very favorable for constructive and positive achievements on both sides. This time must be used by all states in Europe in the most productive way possible to guarantee a better future to Europe as a whole. It differs from the past mainly through creative thinking.

Karutz: Will there be a "European home" in which both parts of Germany have their place—a home with open doors?

Falin: Yes, I am sure of that. We do not have any other future—East and West, north and south. We have to work on this home together. The problem is that no one in this home must feel at a disadvantage, every state must have its comfortable room—including the GDR; certainly a home with open doors—and with fresh air!

GDR Decision 'Guided by Justice'

LD0210153389 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] And now we'll comment on a step taken by the German Democratic Republic recently.

Six special planes arrived on Sunday in the Baverian town of Hof from Prague, and one in the town of Helmstedt in the northeast of West Germany from Warsaw. They carried emigrants from the German Democratic Republic. Earlier more than 6,300 emigrants from the GDR spend several weeks at the West German embassies in Poland and Czechoslovakia, where they had come as tourists. The question of their departure for

West Germany was settled as a result of consultations held by the GDR government with Bonn, Prague, and Warsaw. A spokesman for the GDR authorities said in Berlin that his government had taken this step because of the danger stemming from many people crowded into the small areas occupied by the embassies. News agencies have said that additional hundreds of tourists from the GDR invaded the West German embassies in Poland and Czechoslovakia with the view to getting the opportunity to emigrate. Since 11 September when the Hungarian Government allowed tourists from the GDR to leave for West Germany, more than 24,000 of them rushed to that country.

News agencies have published an interview given to the West German newspaper DIE WELT by the chief of the Internaional Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Valentin Falin, who said Moscow welcomes the GDR's decision to let its citizens who want to emigrate to leave Czechoslovakia and Poland for West Germany. The leaders of the GDR, Valentin Falin said, resolved this problem guided by justice in the interests of the population and the state. The Common European Home, whose building has begun, the Soviet Communist Party spokesman said, should have its doors open to let in fresh air.

GDR Foreign Ministry Official on FRG-GDR Ties

LD0210201189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] The incessant revanchist statements coming from the FRG are being followed with great concern and uneasiness in the Soviet Union. In Moscow, Vsevolod Sovva, deputy chief of the Information Administration in the USSR Foreign Ministry, spoke to our correspondent, Lutz Leichtfuss.

[Begin recording] [Leichtfuss] Comrade Sovva, the FRG media is at present waging a large-scale campaign against the GDR. It centers on such outrageous revanchist demands as the reestablishment of the German Reich according to the 1937 borders; a presumptuous duty to care for all Germans is being claimed, and that includes all citizens of the sovereign GDR. What is the position in the USSR on these events? How are they being evaluated politically?

[Sovva, in German] First, I can only confirm what you have just said, and we, too, feel here that there is a certain euphoria in many FRG programs and that it is shared by other Western stations. An attempt is now being made to make great political capital out of this, to exert great pressure, using a few examples of people being brought together, the desire of a few citizens to emigrate. I am also informed that FRG television is also strongly involved in this, and I think that this in particular is a case of the past being revived: Someone is now trying to solve what was not solved many years ago, and what will also not be solved. The attempt is being made to leave the ground of reality and to act in the field of adventurism.

[Leichtfuss] One of the points being brought into the discussion is an alleged possibility of reunification of the two German states, and here in the Soviet Union, too, there were a few voices that could be interpreted in this direction. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in its replies to statements by Boris Yeltsin has, for example, given a clear answer to this. What do you think of such ideas, of such projects for a German reunification?

[Sovva] I think that these statements do not have to be taken seriously. Some people have vague ideas of what can perhaps happen in the next century, but these suppositions do not bear any relation to actual policy. We know, and the whole world knows perfectly well, that there are two German states having equal rights under international law. These states have an intricate network of interstate agreements with the rest of the world and—what is particularly important—these states concluded a treaty with each other in which all of these questions were settled. That is why I think that talk about reunification only reflects wishful thinking on the part of some incorrigible people, and should not be taken too seriously.

[Leichtfuss] At the end of this week we will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the GDR, and a high-ranking delegation from Moscow is expected. You have been active in experiencing this politically for 4 decades. What is the feeling in Moscow? What do you feel on such an anniversary?

[Sovva] On every GDR anniversary we still feel joy and satisfaction, in particular because in many years of bad political weather, Moscow and Berlin were always together. For example, on 13 August 1961 [Berlin Wall construction] I was there. There were also other other occasions that are now springing to mind: The day when the West Berlin agreement was signed, when the famous words: "All's well that ends well," were uttered. So our people continue to support the republic, and in particular with regard to the fact that 9 May 1945 will be never be forgotten by our people. [end recording]

GDR Protests West Germany's 'Breach of Trust'

LD0210194289 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 2 Oct 89

["GDR Protests Against FRG Breaking Word"—TASS headline]

[Text] Berlin 2/10/ TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports from Bonn:

Bonn (ADN)—The German Democratic Republic has protested against the FRG breaking agreements and words in connection with the expulsion of former GDR citizens who had stayed in FRG embassies in Prague and Warsaw.

Ambassador Horst Neubauer, the head of the permanent mission of the GDR in the FRG, explained the GDR's point of view to FRG Chancellery Office Minister Rudolf Seiters here on Monday.

Neubauer protested strongly that FRG politicians had deliberately distorted the course of events on September 30 and October 1. He underlined the move was a unilateral gesture by the GDR taken solely for humanitarian reasons.

The GDR provided trains for the expulsion in a bid to end the untenable situation in the two embassies.

Neubauer said in the morning of September 30 he had briefed Seiters about that decision.

(ADN)—Neubauer said FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who took part in the talks, was simply not telling the truth when he claimed for himself the "glory" to have pushed through the accord by intensive negotiations in New York and elsewhere.

He said the GDR hoped that the FRG Government drew conclusions and implemented in its Prague and Warsaw embassies a normal way of working in line with international practice.

He said there was a corresponding agreement which, too, was not kept to by the FRG side. The GDR regarded this a gross breach of trust, he added.

Neubauer insisted that newly-arrived GDR citizens in FRG embassies in Prague and Warsaw be ejected and return to the GDR. There they could bring forward their causes, which would be decided upon according to the known promises.

He made clear that attempts to misuse humanitarian solutions for political demonstrations and a media show blocked the way for businesslike cooperation.

TASS Cites ADN on FRG's 'Slander Campaign'

LD0210223289 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Imperialist and revanchist forces are currently boosting their smear and slander campaign against the German Democratic Republic with the aim to undermine the socialist state and social orders and to ultimately liquidate them, GDR Premier Willi Stoph has said.

When he addressed workers at Dresden's Mikromat enterprise on Monday, Stoph underlined that by reviving the notorious sole representation claim the FRG in breach of international law practised an alleged duty to custodianship for GDR citizens to make them leave their country.

"We are strongly protesting against these practices which contradict international law and the valid treaties concluded between the GDR and the FRG," Stoph said.

Those responsible in Bonn should stick to previously made agreements in order not to upset all that had been achieved previously in the process of detente and cooperation, Stoph said.

The premier stressed that under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leningst party the GDR had become an up-to-date socialist state with a potent industry and agriculture.

"We are rightly proud of these successes and we will never and nobody allow to discredit them," Stoph said.

He added "we know, of course, that much remains to be done to perfect our socialist society and to make it more attractive. Many an obstacle has already been removed from our road but many a stumbling block is still there. We are able and willing to remove them ourselves, and all our people can lend a helping hand."

JUNGE WELT Cited on Refugee Problem

LD0210170489 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin 02/10/ TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports: Constructive GDR Position—Bonn Aims at Aggravation ADN news commentary

Berlin (ADN)—The GDR has given in. This is the tenor of political observers here commenting on Monday on the expulsion 24 hours ago of former GDR citizens to the FRG in special trains of the GDR railway company.

These citizens, they said, wanted to enforce their exit from the GDR by illegally staying at the FRG Embassies in Prague and Warsaw grossly violating GDR law thereby. But the GDR accepted humanitarian grounds. The situation produced by GDR citizens staying at FRG missions had become untenable. A possible outbreak of epidemics would have affected other people, too. That was why the GDR was guided by the fact that "people are at stake and political reason calls for responsible action," as JUNGE WELT daily put it in a commentary.

Quite unlike Bonn, it went on, the GDR had made a number of proposals for a mutually acceptable solution to the problem of those GDR citizens massively trying in the past few weeks to leave the GDR via FRG Embassies, that was, illegally.

In fact, such reasonable proposals recently led to GDR people in the FRG's diplomatic mission in Berlin leaving the building voluntarily. GDR authorities granted immunity, saying they could apply for leaving the country the n mal, legal way. Such an approach respected both the sovereignty of the state and the citizen's right to choose.

In Prague and Warsaw, JUNGE WELT said, the FRG had not sought to calm the situation. "Despite better judgement, hope was kindled day by day that extortion of privileges enforced the permission to leave." One must not forget that Bonn and its media not only profit from the situation. "They are acting in cold blood organizing a policy which aims at aggravation," JUNGE WELT said.

In a similar way, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer told the U.N. General Assembly session last week that "having to exercise a so-called custodianship over nationals of other states in violation of the sovereign rights of other states is bound to provoke conflicts which erode cooperation in the heart of Europe, and even put peace at jeopardy."

CSSR Calls for Inter-German Talks on Refugees

PM0210154589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "At the FRG Embassy in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—The newspaper RUDE PRAVO evaluates what is happening at the FRG Embassy in Prague nowadays as a "critical situation." The number of GDR citizens on embassy territory demanding to leave for the FRG has once again increased significantly. According to West German spokesmen, there were 1,100 people there on Tuesday. An FRG Red Cross field kitchen is operating, and new heated tents have appeared in the embassy garden.

High-ranking functionaries from Bonn and also an intermediary—W. Vogel, a jurist who has arrived here from the GDR—are working in the embassy. Last week the jurist persuaded 310 GDR citizens to return home from Prague.

The Czechoslovak side, the RUDE PRAVO report states, has repeatedly emphasized that the presence of GDR citizens on the territory of the FRG Embassy in Prague hinders the normal working of the diplomatic mission. This issue can be resolved on the basis of bilateral talks between the GDR and the FRG.

Mittag Speaks at Soviet Embassy Soiree

LD0310031989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1835 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin, 2 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Igor Osinskiy reports: Today at the USSR Embassy in the GDR a festive soiree was held in conection with the coming 40th anniversary of the formation of the German Democratic Republic. Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Socialist Unionist Party of Germany Central Committee, addressed the embassy staff. We, Communists of the GDR and Communists of the USSR, citizens of both our countries, are meeting the jubilee of the socialist German state as our common festival. That is how it has been, how it is and how it will always be, Mittag noted.

In the GDR the arrival of M.S. Gorbachev to take part in the festive ceremonies is awaited with great joy and satisfaction. This visit will confirm yet again the community of our fundamental ideas on the ideals and values of socialism, its vital force and historical prospect, the speaker stressed.

The leading part belongs to the USSR in the rout of fascism, in the liberation of the German people, in the creation on the territory of the present GDR of favourable conditions for the complete eradication of nazism, and the implementation of deep democratic transformations. One can only imagine the further development of the GDR along a socialist path. The German Democratic Republic will always be a reliable partner of the USSR, will do everything possible to strengthen economic cooperation between our countries and within the framework of CEMA G. Mittag said.

Shevardnadze, Polish Foreign Minister Meet at UN

LD0110104189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0922 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] New York, 1 Oct (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze had a conversation with K. Skubiszewski, Polish People's Republic [PPR] foreign minister.

The Polish minister confirmed the new PPR Government's intention of observing alliance obligations on the basis of sovereignty and complete equality. This statement was valued on its merits by the Soviet minister.

The sides advocated the continuance of the development of extensive direct contacts between the peoples of the USSR and PPR so that the economic links between the two countries are not weakened, although the forms of their implementation need improvement.

During a discussion on international subjects, E.A. Shevardnadze and K. Skubiszewski noted that the positions of the USSR and PPR with regard to regional conflicts practically coincide. The Polish minister spoke highly of the USSR contribution to their settlement.

The sides expressed hope for the quickest possible elaboration of an accord at the Vienna negotiations on reducing conventional armed forces in Europe.

An understanding was reached on the maintenance of working contacts between the ministers and the foreign ministries of the two countries.

Other issues of mutual interest were touched upon.

Yakovlev, Romanian Envoy Discuss Bilateral Ties

LD0210154789 Moscow TASS in English 1312 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, received the Romanian ambassador to the USSR, Ion Bucur, at his request.

In a friendly conversation they discussed some issues of Soviet-Romanian relations.

Yakovlev Holds Talks With Bulgaria's Zhivkov

PM0110121789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS dispatch: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] Sofia, 28 Sep—During a meeting held in Varna between T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, and A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, problems of international life, the development of socialism, and cooperation between socialist countries were discussed. A.N. Yakovlev is in Bulgaria at the head of a CPSU delegation to the conference of socialist countries' fraternal party central committee secretaries for international questions.

The Bulgarian leader emphasized with special satisfaction the fundamental coincidence of the main aims and spheres of the radical perestroyka which is being implemented in all areas of social life in the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR. He noted that broad new possibilities are currently being created for raising the all-around cooperation between the two fraternal countries to a qualitatively higher level and applying new forms of closer colaboration between the BCP and the CPSU in the interests of socialism and peace.

It was noted at the meeting that in light of the new political thinking a persistent creative quest for solutions based on real interests rather than mechanical standardization provides a reliable basis for lasting unity and collaboration among socialist countries, for which their common socialist background creates favorable opportunities. At the same time, the coordination of actions among the fraternal parties and states on fundamental questions, comradely interest in partners' succeses, strict implementation of adopted commitments, and profound understanding of both the national and international interests and their close interconnection are of paramount importance. In this context the great importance of socialist integration and the expansion of economic cooperation among the socialist countries as the material basis of their unity was noted.

The mounting political activenes of the socialist countries in the international arena was unanimously appraised as an outstanding phenomenon which demonstrates the effectiveness of the new political thinking in international relations. This is convincingly borne out by their major initiatives aimed at disarmament and the strengthening of peace and cooperation in Europe and the world, the solution of mankind's global problems, and the preservation and development of world civilization.

T. Zhivkov conveyed cordial greetings to M.S. Gorbachev and the entire Soviet people on behalf of the Bulgarian Communists and working people.

The meeting was attended by M. Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and V.V. Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

Vlasov Concludes Official Visit to Yugoslavia

Tours Belgrade, Kragujevac

PM2909134589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Sep—The official friendly visit to the SFRY by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, continues. [passage omitted]

The head of the Soviet delegation visited the J. Broz Tito Memorial Complex in Belgrade and laid flowers.

Wreaths were laid at the monument to Soviet military leaders who died tragically in the 1964 aircrash on Mount Avala near Belgrade and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers visited Kragujevac, the city of the revolutionary traditions of the Yugoslav proletariat, which has become widely known especially thanks to the labor of the 12,000-strong collective of the "Crvena Zastava" automobile plant.

Business contacts between the Kragujevac workers and their colleages at the Volga Truck Plant have been developing successfully for decades. R. Micic, chairman of the "Crvena Zastava" economic committee, briefed members of the delegation on the prospects of Yugoslav-Soviet cooperation in the automobile industry. Production sharing ties are developing successfully, and a perfect balance in deliveries has been achieved. In the current 5-year period the volume of production-sharing deliveries for the production of "Lada" cars will increase to $600 million.

A.V. Vlasov was accompanied on his trip to Kragujevac by M. Milosevic, vice president of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly.

Montenegro Talks, Activities Reported

PM0110130789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Visit to Montenegro"]

[Text] Titograd, 28 Sep—A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, arrived in

Titograd today at the invitation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

He was met at the airport by R. Kontic, president of the Executive Council of the Montenegro Assembly, R. Darmanovic, member of the League of Communists of Montenegro Central Committee Presidium, and other officials.

On the same day A.V. Vlasov met with M. Bulatovic, president of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee Presidium. During their talks the sides stressed that the further development of contacts between the RSFSR and Montenegro will contribute to the strengthening of Soviet-Yugoslav relations as a whole. It was pointed out that cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY and the USSR and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY] has been deepening increasingly in recent years in the interests of the peoples of both countries. Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the state of cooperation between the two republics, although there is still much potential for their further expansion.

The sides exchanged information on the 10th (Extraordinary) Congress of the League of Communists of Montenegro which was held at Titograd and the CPSU Central Committee Plenum devoted to the party's nationalities policy in current conditions.

Official talks between the delegations of the RSFSR and Montenegro were held today. A.V. Vlasov and R. Kontic noted with satisfaction that ties between the RSFSR and Montenegro have been expanding in recent years within the framework of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation.

A.V. Vlasov described the processes under way in the Soviet Union, the place and role of the CPSU within Soviet society's political system, measures to improve the economic and political system, the strategy and tactics of the party, and the principles governing its activity.

R. Kontic reported on current and future tasks facing the working people of Montenegro and dwelt on the republic's socioeconomic problems, in particular its foreign debt and unemployment. He submitted specific proposals for joint capital investment and the creation of joint enterprises.

The talks and meetings were attended by V.P. Loginov, USSR ambassador to the SFRY.

A.V. Vlasov visited one of Yugoslavia's leading enterprises—the contruction machinery plant named for Radoje Dakic—and acquainted himself with the work of its 5,000-strong collective. The Soviet guest inquired about cooperation between this enterprise, whose output is known throughout the world, and the "Udarnik" plant in Minsk.

He visited the Nonaligned Countries Arts Gallery named for J. Broz Tito.

Further on Montenegro Talks

PM0310105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Titograd, 29 Sep—A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, who is on an official friendly visit to the SFRY, is continuing to familiarize himself with the life of Montenegro, its history, present, and plans for the future.

The chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers met today with B. Kostic, president of the Montenegro Presidency. It was noted with satisfaction that the cooperation between the RSFSR and Montenegro and the friendship between the two republics' peoples, which goes back into the depths of history and was forged during the years of the joint struggle against fascism, serves the interests of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples and the common cause of socialism and peace. Readiness was expressed to continue developing mutually advantageous ties in various spheres.

A businesslike talk was held in Titograd today between A.V. Vlasov and leading economic managers in the republic. The RSFSR and Montenegro are moving from exchanging opinions and good intentions to jointly defining avenues of cooperation and working out long-term programs which are being given increasingly concrete form. The meeting participants were concerned about the issue of how to fill the long-standing traditional ties between the two republics' peoples with specific new content, how to develop contacts in the economic sphere still further, and how to introduce new forms of cooperation.

A.V. Vlasov said that 23 ministries and departments, 4 autonomous republics, 3 krays, 14 oblasts, and 58 agro-industrial combines and associations are currently participating in cooperation on the RSFSR side.

Z. Dragovic, president of the Montenegro Economic Chamber, noted that life itself is suggesting ways of switching from conventional commodity exchange deals to the creation of joint ventures, and to scientific and technical plans and developments. Increasing emphasis is being placed on production sharing between industrial enterprises. In the opinion of Montenegro's economic managers, the time has come to organize firm and stable ties between firms and production associations.

The same day A.V. Vlasov visited an aluminum combine in Titograd, familiarized himself with the organization of production, and met with representatives of a labor collective. This is one of the largest nonferrous metallurgy enterprises in the SFRY. Built with Soviet participation, it produces more than 100,000 tonnes of aluminum each year, around 50 percent of which is exported.

Final talks were held between A.V. Vlasov and R. Kontic, president of the Montenegro Assembly. A document reflecting the common desire to further develop relations between the RSFSR and Montenegro within the framework of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation was signed.

V.P. Loginov, USSR ambassador to the SFRY, took part in the talks and meetings.

B. Kostic, president of the Montenegro Presidency, hosted a dinner in the Soviet guest's honor, during which there was an exchange of speeches.

Return From SFRY Noted

PM0310095989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Return to Moscow"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, returned to Moscow from Yugoslavia 30 September after paying an official friendly visit to that country.

Slovenia's Assembly Seeks To Change Constitution

PM0110115989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov: "Slovenia Displays Persistence"]

[Text] Belgrade—As all the Yugoslav media unanimously state, on the afternoon of 27 September an extraordinary event in the history of the Yugoslav federation occurred in the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana.

The delegates of this union republic's assembly approved virtually unanimously all 68 amendments to the republic Constitution proposed by the constitutional commission. The delegates rose and thunderously applauded the announcement of the result of the vote. Then the Slovenian national anthem was sung in the hall—for the first time in an official setting. SFRY Presidium President J. Drnovsek attended the session, having interrupted his stay at the United Nations and flown immediately from New York to Ljubljana.

In conditions of the improvement of the political system, changes in the union republics' constitutions are essential and useful. But 6 of the 68 amendments approved by the assembly contravene the SFRY Constitution, the very articles which regulate the activity of the federal socialist state. In accordance with the adopted amendments, Slovenia has the right not to implement certain union laws on its territory. The SFRY Assembly Constitutional Committee has repeatedly pointed this out to the authors of the amendments. On two occasions the SFRY Presidium, which on Monday (it was reported in yesterday's IZVESTIYA) appealed to the Slovenian Assembly to postpone consideration of the controversial amendments, has pointed out the dangerous consequences for the federation's unity of the adoption of the controversial amendments. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, which held a plenum the day before, insisted on this, too.

But the Slovenian deputies, some of the republic's public figures, and cultural representatives saw the concern displayed outside the republic as "pressure from the center on a sovereign people."

The 27 September Slovenian Assembly session began with a speech by its president, Miran Potrc (he is also head of the republic's Constitutional Commission), who said: "The amendments to the republic constitution which we have proposed and which have caused controversy do not contradict the SFRFY Constitution. No one apart from the assembly deputies has the right to decide whether or not to change the Slovenian constitution."

Potrc told all the deputies not to act on the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber's instruction to postpone adoption of the controversial amendments. "Not for a very long time," he continued, "have the assembly deputies had the kind of responsibility to the Slovenian people and all citizens that they have today. We expect and are confident that the approval of the amendments will be the basis for an end to the period in which ideology and politics have taken precedence over human beings and the economy. We are confident that the additions to the Constitution will not violate the unity of Yugoslavia as a free, democratic, and equal union of peoples and ethnic groups. We are sure that the proposed amendments accord with the true aspirations of the working people and all citizens of Slovenia and the entire people. The adopted additions to the constitution will create conditions for political pluralism in Slovenia."

De Facto Split Occurs in SFRY Party

PM0210135189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch: "Threat Hanging Over the Federation. Nighttime Plenum of League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee"]

[Text] Belgrade—An extraordinary plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee completed its work in Belgrade Wednesday morning. It had begun at 1600 on Tuesday and lasted all night until 0800. The Central Committee members had met urgently to discuss political aspects of the amendments to Slovenia's Constitution which are being prepared for approval by the Slovenian Assembly.

In the article "Federation or Confederation?" IZVESTIYA (No 266) reported that some of the proposed amendments have elicited a varying reaction in Yugoslavia. Many people believe that the adoption of the proposed amendments will lead to the virtual collapse of the federative socialist state and the disintegration of the friendly alliance of the peoples and ethnic groups that live in the SFRY. The same conclusion was also reached by the SFRY Presidency, which set forth its viewpoint in an open letter to Slovenian Assembly deputies.

Adopting the Slovenian amendments would lead to constitutional inequality among the SFRY republics, violate the nature of the Yugoslav federation, and threaten its integrity, as well as the entire system of socialist, sociopolitical relations within the federation. The chief objection is that certain amendments, were they to be approved, would result in certain articles of Slovenia's constitution conflicting with the SFRY Constitution. Under Yugoslav law the federation's constitution takes priority in such a case. But the Slovenian deputies disagreed with this. Many public figures in the republic and the mass media also disagreed with the SFRY Presidency's conclusions.

The political situation in the country has been sharply exacerbated in recent days in connection with the discussion of possible changes to Slovenia's constitution. Mindful of the dangerous consequences which might result from adopting the proposed amendments, on Monday the SFRY Presidency returned to them once again at its session. The top state organ reaffirmed that the adoption of the amendments in the proposed form calls into question the provisions of the SFRY Constitution as the constitution of a federal state. Therefore, after weighing all the circumstances, the SFRY Presidency proposed to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia that it defer adopting the disputed amendments. At the same time it proposed that the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly make an urgent examination of the situation which has taken shape.

The Assembly session began Tuesday and also ended at 0130 on Wednesday. The majority of deputies believe that the changes to the Slovenian constitution open the way to separatism, national isolation, and an unequal position for the country's peoples and ethnic groups. By a majority of votes the Federal Chamber instructed the Slovenian Assembly to defer the adoption of the disputed amendments. Almost all the deputies from Slovenia abstained from voting: They ostentatiously walked out of the auditorium.

The LCY Central Committee plenum, relayed from beginning to end over Belgrade television, also carried out strenuous, dramatic work throughout the 16 hours. In point of fact, it discussed ways to reform the political system and the tasks of preparing for the 14th party congress, which will be held next January. Unfortunately, when assessing the amendments to the Slovenian constitution and the consequences which might result from their approval, the opinions of the majority of Central Committee members differed from the stand taken by the Central Committee members from Slovenia. It seems that a de facto split in the LCY occurred during those 16 difficult hours. The Communists from Slovenia vehemently upheld their united stand, arguing that it does not contradict the Yugoslav Constitution or the principles of democratic centralism, in no way threatens to cause the federation's collapse, and so forth. The plenum spent 2 hours discussing the agenda (certain Central Committee members tried to prevent discussion of the "Slovenian question") and 4 hours discussing the final resolution.

The Central Committee nonetheless adopted the resolution by a majority of votes (97 for, 40 against, 1 abstention). It upholds the principles of the socialist federation, the unity of all the federal republics, and their full equality. It states that changes to the Slovenian constitution would lead to inequalities for the republics and their peoples and ethnic groups. The resolution upholds the principles of political reform, democratization, and the renewal of society on socialist principles. The resolution contains an appeal to the Communists of Slovenia to refrain from adopting the disputed amendments to the constitution.

A session of the Slovenian Assembly will take place Wednesday afternoon.

SFRY on Threshold of 'Virtual Split'

LD2909095889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1543 GMT 28 Sep 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] Today, like yesterday, many reports have been reaching us from Belgrade and many of them sound alarming. The point is that Yugoslavia's League of Communists has found itself almost on the threshold of a virtual split. An extraordinary party plenum Tuesday lasted almost 16 hours, through Tuesday night and into Wednesday morning. The plenum urgently discussed the amendments to Slovenia's constitution. Slovenia is one of the republics that make up the federation. These amendments, which were submitted for examination by Slovenia's parliament, envision the possibility of the republic seceding from the federation and give it the right to change its borders and even to join any other state. Moreover, the new constitution would enable Slovenia's leadership to abolish federal laws which are compulsory for all other republics.

By majority vote the plenum of the Central Committee yesterday [27 September] called on Slovenia's Communists to refrain from adopting these amendments. Similar assessments and appeals were also heard at the meetings of the SFRY Federal Assembly and of the Presidium of the country's supreme state body. However, the Slovene authorities are refusing to heed these appeals and are upholding the principles of the republic's total independence, essentially of separatism.

The press of Serbia, Croatia, and other union republics are warning against the danger of the federal socialist state breaking up. For instance, the newspapers write about the impermissibility of examples of nationalism in any medium, but first of all within the ranks of the party, about the fact that overcoming the crisis in interethnic relations is a necessary condition for the success of economic and political reforms and for the democratization of society.

Is it not true that these words and assessments are very similar to those we ourselves make today, when speaking of the situation in our country?

In our country, too, interethnic dissension and open or secret separatism are a threat to the cause of perestroyka, and it seems to me that the analysis being made by many Yugoslav Communists regarding the causes for the exacerbation of interethnic relations in the country is instructive. They believe that the Yugoslav model of socialist self-government has not been carried through to the end, that real power delegated from the center to the localities, to the labor collectives, has not reached them to the extent that was intended. This power, these rights, were intercepted so to speak en route by representatives of the administrative-bureaucratic apparatus in the republic and autonomous regions. And today it is precisely they, the representatives of the apparatus system, of the administrative system, intending to preserve their positions, to preserve their privileges, who are standing in the way of the country's socialist renewal on the principles of democracy and full equality of all peoples and of all ethnic groups of Yugoslavia.

West Europe

Finland's Holkeri on Murmansk Initiative

LD0110181689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Representatives of all the Scandinavian countries, the Soviet Union, Canada, and the United States have agreed to hold next fall an international conference on environmental protection problems in the Arctic region. Our Helsinki corespondent, Enn Anupyld, reports on the details:

[Anupyld] The preparatory meeting took place in the town of Rovaniemi in northern Finland. Rovaniemi is the twin city of Murmansk, the town in which 2 years ago Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev put forward a whole complex of proposals on broadening cooperation and strengthening confidence in the extensive region of northern Europe and the Arctic. After his speech the weighty notion of the Murmansk initiative became part of international politics.

Two years have now elapsed, and the Murmansk initiative is now being considered at a practical level. At the present day, on the eve of the visit to Finland by the head of the Soviet state, these problems are becoming particularly topical. I asked Finland's Prime Minister Harri Holkeri to speak about these issues.

[Begin Holkeri recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] President Gorbachev's initiatives encompass a broad range of issues. In spirit, our approaches coincide. We are not, of course, a great Northern maritime power. Therefore, the solution of issues at the military-political level will primarily depend on the positions of the military blocs. However we are trying to promote the processes of detente between them. For our part the initiatives on cooperation in the fields of economics, science, technology, and environmental protection are of particular importance.

A year ago in negotiations with Prime Minister Ryzhkov, we agreed on our bilateral program of action with regard to the Kola Peninsula. It is not an intergovernment agreement and is intended to define more precisely all kinds of projects. We are now completing this work and I personally am struck by just how extensive the potential is for our cooperation. It includes industrial installations, mines, metallurgy and explorations for the development of gas and oil resources, tourism and transport, but perhaps cooperation in protecting the environment is the most important thing of all. Our minister is in Moscow preparing with his Soviet counterpart a very important agreement that will shortly be signed. In regard to reducing harmful emissions into the atmosphere we are going much further than the international normatives that have been drawn up and are setting much higher targets. Together with the USSR Government we attach enormous importance to nature protection problems. [end recording]

[Anupyld] That is the opinion of Finland's prime minister. The Murmansk initiative is being implemented, and confirmation of this was the recent meeting in Rovaniemi.

Shevardnadze Meets With West Europe Officials

UK, Finnish Counterparts

LD3009121189 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 30 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met British Foreign Secretary John Major on Friday.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the Soviet-British political dialogue and the nature of contacts between the leaders of the two countries.

They described the recent meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher in Moscow as intensive and useful.

Shevardnadze and Major mapped out measures to prepare a "Week of Britain" in the Soviet Union, to be held next June. Simultaneously, the two countries will hold one more summit meeting.

The ministers discussed some bilateral issues of mutual interest in a constructive spirit.

They agreed to maintain close working contacts at their level. In the middle of next year, Major plans to visit the Soviet Union.

Shevardnadze also met Finnish Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio.

They discussed in detail Soviet-Finnish relations and preparations for Gorbachev's visit to Finland, scheduled for October 25-27.

Confidence was expressed that the Soviet-Finnish summit in Helsinki will vividly demonstrate the unique nature of relations between the two countries, based on the principles of mutual respect and non-interference in one another's internal affairs.

The sides pointed out with satisfaction that environmental issues are given more and more attention in bilateral cooperation. Shevardnadze spoke highly of Finland's initiatives in this field.

The Soviet minister reiterated Soviet support for the idea of convening the second Helsinki summit conference of European countries, the United States and Canada in 1992, which could become a political landmark on the threshold of the 21st century.

Greek Deputy Foreign Minister

LD0110120289 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 1 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has met Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Georgeos Papoulias.

They discussed several international issues, including the situation in Cyprus.

The sides confirmed their countries' interest in developing ties and cooperation in different spheres and maintaining contacts at the high level.

More on Thatcher's 23 Sep News Conference

Comments on Arms Control, Perestroyka

PM2909135589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Moscow Edition p 3

[P. Golub report: "Margaret Thatcher Answers Journalists' Questions"]

[Text] During the news conference which the British prime minister gave 23 September in connection with her Moscow working meeting with M.S. Gorbachev the hall of the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center was fuller than ever before. And the 30 minutes allocated to the news conference in the program of M. Thatcher's brief stay in Moscow were plainly insufficient for the questions prepared by journalists.

The journalists were interested, above all, in whether the participants in the Soviet-British summit meeting had achieved rapprochement over questions of disarmament. The FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent, for example, asked M. Thatcher to assess the recent Soviet proposals in the sphere of reducing conventional arms and armed forces.

"I would not like to go into the details of this question," the British prime minister replied. "This is a matter for the immediate participants in the talks. However, I will emphasize that the Soviet proposals will undoubtedly help to achieve progress.... Toward the end of next year we will be able to resolve the outstanding problems and conclude a corresponding agreement."

M. Thatcher answered with moderate optimism a question from APN concerning an assessment of the recent Soviet initiatives at the talks on nuclear and space arms. The prime minister voiced the firm conviction that those talks will make progress, although it will be slow progress because of the considerable technical difficulties associated with verifying and monitoring the fulfillment of the corresponding agreements. M. Thatcher believes that new constructive proposals and initiatives are very important here. The prime minister would not answer journalists' more detailed questions, reminding them that talks were currently being held between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker in Wyoming. "The results of those talks will obviously be announced in the United States," M. Thatcher emphasized.

Answering a question from one of the participants in the news conference (unfortunately, in their desire to manage to ask a question not all the journalists found time to introduce themselves) with regard to Britain's adherence to the policy of nuclear deterrence in light of Israel's recent testing of a ballistic missile, the prime minister pointed out that nuclear deterrence is a basic element of NATO strategy, and it will remain so. At the same time, M. Thatcher emphasized that she was against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. "The five powers that possess these weapons today approach this question from extremely responsible positions. It is necessary to involve more and more members of the international community in signing the relevant treaty. Approximately 15 states now possess the technology to produce ballistic missiles, and this cannot fail to concern us."

Of course, the journalists were interested in the British leader's assessment of the political processes occurring in the Soviet Union. Questions about this were asked by a correspondent for Britain's THE GUARDIAN, a Japanese journalist, and a female representative of the Soviet journal RABOTNITSA. M. Thatcher's reply was quite clear: "We believe that perestroyka is a great event not only for the Soviet people but also for the whole world... We fully support the political reforms being undertaken by the Soviet leadership... I am confident of the prospects for the Soviet peoples' greater prosperity..."

Questions of the West's possible economic support for the economic transformations in the Soviet Union could not remain outside the journalists' interests. A question was even asked about the possibility of the West adopting a new version of the "Marshall plan" for the USSR. Here, however, the prime minister "disappointed" the correspondents by making a very cautious assessment of the prospects of "harmonizing the present mechanisms for cooperation among Western economies" to resolve questions of aiding "the Soviet centralized economy."

In this same connection M. Thatcher regarded it as premature to raise the question of our country's possible admission to such international economic associations as the IMF and the GATT. "It is a question not only of economic principles," M. Thatcher pointed out. In her opinion, for a serious examination of this question it is necessary, as a preliminary, to change the entire system of Soviet economic management.

British journalists were very interested in the state of and prospects for bilateral Anglo-Soviet relations. Here Mrs Thatcher gave several very brief yet substantive replies. "Unfortunately, Soviet-British trade relations are not developing as quickly as we would like. I believe that they should be developed more vigorously..." "No, the question of the expulsion of diplomats from our countries was not examined during the meeting..."

I would like to conclude this account of the British prime minister's news conference with her reply to THE GUARDIAN's correspondent: "If you do something in earnest, you inevitably encounter difficulties. The chief thing here is not to give in to difficulties. I believe that ensuring prosperity for the Soviet Union and peace throughout the world is a great reward for ensuring that perestroyka is not halted by difficulties."

Says Perestroyka Reversal 'Unlikely'

PM0210105789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Markushin report: "M. Thatcher: My Views Have Not Changed"]

[Text] Returning to London from Tokyo, British Prime Minister M. Thatcher made a stopover in Moscow to have a working meeting with M.S. Gorbachev. M. Thatcher gave a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on the results of the meeting.

Addressing the journalists, the leader of the British Government once again voiced support for Soviet perestroyka. During the meeting which has ended, M. Thatcher said, problems of arms control, a chemical weapons ban, and others were touched on. She voiced the hope that agreements will be reached in these areas as early as next year. On the whole, in the prime minister's opinion, this meeting was one more important landmark in the discussions begun between her and M.S. Gorbachev in 1984.

Then answers were given to questions. One of them, in particular, concerned M. Thatcher's attitude toward the concept of nuclear deterrence. Has it changed? This is an important element of NATO strategy, the British leader replied, and my views have not changed. At the same time M. Thatcher voiced concern at the prospects for the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

How does the leader of the British Government assess the prospects at the talks on conventional arms and on nuclear and space arms?

Answering these questions to the point, M. Thatcher said that the Soviet proposals at the Vienna talks contribute to progress and that there is a real possibility of concluding an agreement before the end of next year. As for the U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva, the prime minister believes that their slow progress is conditioned not by a lack of will on the sides' part but by the complexity of technical questions.

Some journalists were interested in the British prime minister's assessment of the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. Expressing her attitude toward this question, M. Thatcher pointed out, in particular, that perestroyka is proceeding successfully in the USSR, but it is important not to retreat before difficulties. The political reforms are proceeding more easily than economic ones. The economy is the sphere in which the activeness of the entire people must play the decisive role. Soviet perestroyka began in the political sphere, with a broad exchange of opinions, with glasnost. This has had a profound effect. The people have undoubtedly supported the changes. And they have made such great strides that reverse movement is unlikely, M. Thatcher emphasized.

TASS, REUTER Sign Cooperation Protocol

LD0310013589 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—The Soviet news agency TASS and REUTER signed a protocol here today to broaden their cooperation.

It will enable Soviet organisations and foreign missions in the USSR to receive new financial and commercial news services from REUTER data banks through TASS, displayed on special video terminals.

The protocol was signed by TASS general director Leonid Kravchenko and REUTER managing director Glen Renfrew.

Latin America & Caribbean

Debt Problem Stressed in Latin America UN Speeches

PY0210160989 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0130 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Leonid Levchenko commentary]

[Text] In their speeches to the 44th General Assembly, the heads of delegations of the Latin American countries concentrated on the foreign debt problem. In the annual joint IMF and World Bank meeting, which is being held in Washington, solutions to this problem are also being analyzed.

This note by our commentator Leonid Levchenko is dedicated to this issue:

The threat that the foreign debt represents for the underdeveloped nations, including the Latin American countries, is no longer questioned. It has also been admitted that this purely economic problem has become a political problem.

It was not by chance that Brazilian President Jose Sarney, upon opening the political discussions in the UN General Assembly, elaborated on the Latin American countries' painful economic situation, which has basically been prompted by the disproportionate burden of the foreign debt.

There are detailed statistics that reveal a disease; resources are required to cure it. As pointed out by the heads of the delegations of the Latin American countries in the UN General Assembly, the disease of the century can only be cured via the internationalization of the efforts of all the countries, rich and poor alike. And this does not involve charity alone, but justice as well because if the unjust economic international relations are continued, charity will not substantially change the situation of the underdeveloped nations.

By way of example, let us note that in 1988 the assistance of the industrialized nations to the underdeveloped nations totaled $90 billion. Also in 1988, however, the industrialized nations received $140 billion from the underdeveloped nations in debt service and interest. This is the largest transfer of capital from the pockets of the poor to the pockets of the rich ever seen in history. It happens that the prosperity of the rich is only reached through the assistance to the poor.

Not only is this disproportion an obvious injustice, but it also threatens the stability of the international economy and of international politics as well.

Commentary Views Latin American Economic Woes

PY0210232389 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish to Latin America 0100 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Latin American affairs analyst Oleg Gladskovskiy commentary]

[Text] The IMF could not avoid the continuing reduction of foreign reserves in Latin American countries in recent months, and Latin American affairs analyst Oleg Gladskovskiy writes about this topic.

Foreign reserves are rapidly decreasing in several Latin American countries, and in some they amount to no more than one-third of last year's. In (name indistinct), reserves dropped by one-third. Similar reductions have occurred in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Panama, and other countries. Such a negative phenomenom must be analyzed in terms of the complex economic situation the region is experiencing. In general it can be described as a situation of high inflation rates, a decline in the worker's standard of living, and increased unemployment.

The losses in foreign reserves underline the complexity of the region's external finances and are a sign of rising difficulties. Gladskovskiy notes that each country has its particular troubles, although common causes can be pointed out, especially the huge payments on the region's foreign debt. Latin America is today an exporter of capital. It pays from $25 to $30 million to developed capitalist countries each year. The region is being bled.

Those payments up to now have been financed by export receipts. Has anything changed on this point? Gladskovskiy asks. The exports from most Latin American countries have not increased because many manufactured goods are blocked by protectioneist measures in the United States and other capitalist countries. Latin America countries in the past have restricted their imports to a minimum, and a considerable portion of their export receipts were used to pay debts. This situation, however, could not go on forever. This year Latin American has had to partially limit its imports to meet acute requirements for equipment, spare parts, basic materials, fuel, etc., and the result is a reduction in its foreign reserves.

What can the Soviet Union do to mitigate the financial difficulties and foreign reserve needs of Latin America? Gladskovskiy notes that the Soviet Union is running into similar problems in its restructuring process. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union is willing to contribute to the economic stability of Latin America. Soviet-Latin American trade has in recent years surpassed $700,000-800,000.

It is necessary, Gladskovskiy says, to seek a balance in Soviet-Latin American trade and other forms of economic cooperation. It is quite obvious that such cooperation, on balanced terms, could help substantially in straightening out Latin America's economic situation and progress.

This has been a commentary by Soviet economist Oleg Gladskovskiy.

Colombian, Venezuelan Envoys Present Credentials

PM0210120789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] Guillermo Plazas Alcid, Colombian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, presented his credentials to A.I Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, in the Kremlin 27 September.

The positive changes taking place in the Soviet Union, the ambassador noted, are having a profound effect on the entire international situation. People in Colombia welcome with particular satisfaction the USSR's creative foreign-policy course aimed at achieving and strengthening world peace and at asserting humanistic principles of universal importance. On behalf of his country's government G. Plazas expressed gratitude for the vocational training of Colombian specialists in Soviet higher educational establishments.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov stressed that the nationwide support for perestroyka is making it possible to look to the future with optimism and proving the correctness of the chosen course in the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy expressed in the Congress of USSR People's Deputies' message to the world's peoples. The USSR notes with satisfaction that our two countries' positions are close or identical on a whole range of current problems. Both countries advocate the eradication of the threat of war, the ending of the race in nuclear, chemical, and conventional arms, the prevention of the militarization of space, the establishment of a new international economic order on equitable principles, and the improvement of the situation and a political settlement in Central America and other regions. Support was expressed for the Colombian Government's efforts to combat political terrorism and the drug barons.

Both sides pointed to the need to further develop the entire range of Soviet-Colombian relations, to make use of new forms of cooperation, and to deepen political dialogue between the two countries.

Following the presentation of credentials there was a friendly conversation between A.I. Lukyanov and G. Plazas.

The same day A.I. Lukyanov received the credentials of Jesus Alberto Fernandez, Venezuelan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, in the Kremlin.

J.A. Fernandez noted that people in Venezuela are following with great attention and interest the perestroyka and glasnost processes under way in the Soviet Union and welcome the efforts being made in the spirit of new thinking to avert a nuclear catastrophe, curb the arms race, democratize international relations, and resolve the global problems of the day.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, A.I. Lukyanov stressed that the Soviet foreign policy course represents a clear-cut program for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, an understanding of the increasingly integrated nature of the world, and the assertion of universal human values in international practice. We understand and feel close to the Latin American peoples' desire to achieve political and economic progress, to live as they themselves choose, and to strengthen collaboration with other countries in solving the urgent problems facing the world, he continued.

Both sides expressed a desire to further develop and deepen Soviet-Venezuelan relations.

After the presentation of credentials there was a friendly talk between A.I. Lukyanov and J.A. Fernandez.

Supreme Soviet Session

Reportage on 23 Sep Ration Cards Debate

LD2309223789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Is the introduction of ration cards possible in this country? Our correspondent Andrey Konstantinov reports on this.

[Konstantinov] I decided to start my report on the joint session of the USSR People's Control Committee, the Commission on Issues of Labor, prices and Social Policy, and the Commission on Consumer Goods of the Soviet of the Union [as heard] with commonplace pictures which literally set our teeth on edge, because the lines, the increase in shortages, and raging speculation in the country are directly connected to the matter being discussed: How to curb price rises? How to put the brakes on the problems of inflation?

These are now conditions for the survival of the state and, as speakers noted, we need urgent, literally emergency measures. However, as yet nobody has been able to propose a specific, constructive program. [video shows lines in Moscow street and joint session in progress]

The issue has been neglected too much; we are getting down to it too slowly. Moreover, the State Committee for Prices itself is clearly not in the vanguard, and at this session it was the subject of fierce criticism.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker from the floor at the joint session] Why, having adopted in 1989 a decision in the Supreme Soviet, are you to this day not fulfilling it? Will you answer us on that? And what are you going to do? Tell us, are prices going to be changed or not? All in all, you haven't shown us anything here. So I think this speech was to placate us, and I would like to hear specific answers to those issues which the commission has raised on the shortcomings of work precisely on the part of the State Committee on Prices.

[video shows Konstantinov talking in empty hall to Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya and O.R. Latsis, economist and deputy editor-in- chief of KOMMUNIST]

[Konstantinov] It is spine-tingling just how unprepared we are in general for the very concept of what prices are right now, all the more so in terms of how to control them.

[Zaslavskaya] It seems to me that it is pointless to consider the matter of stabilizing retail prices as such, in themselves, separately from other aspects of economic reform, and of course the laws of price-setting, objective laws, are making themselves known, appearing. To try to counter them with administrative methods, with decisions, would appear to me to be hopeless.

[Latsis] I loathe with all my heart distribution by ration card, both retail and wholesale, and there could be nothing worse for our economy. However, I think it has to be recognized that this has already happened, not only with the supply of foodstuffs—we've been living with that for 60 years—this has happened today in retail trade. There is no trade as such.

[Zaslavskaya] We can assure, say, the public that we economists consider the introduction of ration cards to be essential. I am sure that the reaction of the public will be entirely negative—going simply as far as hatred—because the public is not informed about the current system. Were we to publish family budgets in differentiated form to show what is happening in Siberia and what in Moscow, how the better-off groups live and how the less well-off live, I think that only given very profound, serious, and differential information would it be possible to start to think seriously about social forecasting. [end recording] [video shows lines in street]

Supreme Soviet Panels' 27 Sep Discussions Assessed

PM0310094389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondents V. Gatov and V. Dolganov under the rubric "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions": "The Debate Intensifies"]

[Text] What characterizes each new day of the Soviet parliament's second session? What difference is there between the current debates and the previous session? We have been asking ourselves these questions over the past week, while reporting the sessions of standing commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We have noticed the intensity and efficiency of the discussions of draft laws and the desire of the people's deputies, without regard for their own free time, to cover as many new draft laws as possible before the plenary sessions and incorporate them in the session agenda.

But the first day after the second plenary session considerably intensified the debate on the country's State Plan and Budget for 1990 and other particularly acute questions facing our society today. And the parliamentary struggle began to bubble, which is something we became accustomed to during the Congress and the first session. Many of the speeches, even the most fervent and most emotional, are now dictated not simply by a desire to be "noticed" (it is physically impossible to relay reports from commissions and committees in full), but by the realization that our parliamentarians are not allowed time for bad decisions and their subsequent rectification. The question of bestowal of trust is currently the most popular and, probably, the most pungent as far as the people and the deputies themselves are concerned.

It is from this viewpoint that we are trying to examine the discussions of draft laws in committees and commissions on 27 September, in some cases lasting from early morning until late at night. Which was the central one? Perhaps the joint session of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, the Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection, and the Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids. We are gradually becoming accustomed to the fact that that these three entities are among the strictest "examiners" of any draft at the Supreme Soviet. The people's deputies and specially invited experts were on this occasion examining the social aspects of the draft plan and budget for next year.

The discussion participants heard reports by S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], and L.A. Lysenko, first deputy chief of the USSR Finance Ministry Funding Department. A package of questions whose acuteness brooks no delay and is increasing day by day was examined. There was discussion of inflation and the need to stabilize prices on the domestic market and to achieve conformity between the population's income and the availability of goods on the counters. This was not the first time that the members of this commission and committees raised problems of the population's labor employment in many regions and of strike conflicts and spoke with alarm of the position of badly-off people...

Did the authors of the draft laws on the plan and budget for 1990 manage to envisage all the complexities and the rapidly changing picture of social tension in the country? For, according to a report by N.N. Gritsenko, chairman of the Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, the USSR State Committee for Statistics, unlike a number of other departments, is forecasting for next year that people's real incomes will not increase, although it is proposed that the wages of city dwellers and the income of rural inhabitants will increase above the level outlined in the 5-year plan. However, as many deputies pointed out at this and the previous sessions, inflation could instantaneously "swallow up" these increases. The Gosplan has failed to balance the population's monetary income and expenditure next year. According to all the forecasts, the food problem will remain very acute.

Numerous deputies' questions to the main speakers were very, very pointed. How many millions of our fellow citizens will be added to the 43 million who today live below the poverty line? The Gosplan believes that this shameful number will fall by 10-15 million? Then please tell us how. This cannot be seen from the draft. How will the activities of cooperatives affect the economy, and in which direction? Will it be possible to overcome the consequences of the "no alcohol campaign" in the very near future? Should we expect an improvement in the situation regarding sugar, soap, and other scarce goods? And are sufficient measures being taken today to increase their production?

In the opinion of many deputies, not all the main speakers' replies were sufficiently convincing and exhaustive. And this was why the discussion was so pointed. Its chief result probably stood out clearly: It is not enough to put questions and emphasize problems; it is necessary to eliminate all the shortcomings and errors in the draft State Plan and Budget for 1990 within the times envisaged in the session's work procedure.

At the International Affairs Committee, which was meeting on the same day in the Small Hall of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the subject of the hearing was the progress in fulfilling the Vienna accords reached at the conference of the participant countries in the Helsinki process (CSCE) in January 1989. Ministries and departments (and these questions are tackled by more than 50 different organizations) reported back to the legislators. In particular, on bringing internal legislation into line with the international pledges adopted by the USSR.

It has so happened that internal economic problems have proved more important (at least, they have so far) for legislative power than foreign policy problems. Questions of ownership, of leasing, and of the socialist enterprise are undoubtedly of vital importance to the country today. However, the "freezing" of the times for fulfilling the pledges adopted in Vienna does, alas, have an obvious reverse side: Having declared from the highest rostrums our readiness to enter the common European home with civilized, humane legislation on human rights and even giving specific figures and times, we are undermining the developing trust in the USSR as a political partner—primarily a sincere and obliging partner—by failing to fulfill the Vienna accords.

The Vienna agreements came into force the moment they were signed—that is, they must be fulfilled already today. But, unfortunately, the Supreme Soviet session agenda actually contains just one draft law concerning the fulfillment of the Vienna accords—the Law on the Press and Other Mass Media in the USSR. And even this is in the "Other Business" section in overall 32d place.

Reporting to the committee members on the progress in realizing the Vienna agreements with regard to our legislation, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin drew the people's deputies' attention to an important circumstance. The degree of observance of and respect for human rights within the state now determines the degree of trust in this state in the international arena. In his speech A.L. Adamishin did not refrain from a rebuke—true, an extremely restrained and diplomatic rebuke—to the Supreme Soviet: The agenda for the second session disregards the "Vienna accounts," which are urging us to get a move on. A human rights conference will be held in Copenhagen as early as 1990, at which the other parties to the agreements will demand an answer from our delegation.

The draft Law on Immigration to the USSR and Emigration of Soviet Citizens from the USSR is still only on the distant approaches to the Supreme Soviet. The prospects for the draft Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations are still more vague.

The coreport by People's Deputy F.M. Burlatskiy, who heads the subcommittee for humanitarian cooperation, analyzed the problems of preparing draft laws and their quality. The idea that the creation of updated human rights legislation is one of the most important tasks of the International Affairs Committee was a central theme. The deputy criticized the departments responsible for preparatory work for their halfheartedness and lack of haste.

Sharp criticism was also heard in the speech of People's Deputy A.S. Pavlov. He reproached the USSR Council of Ministers apparatus for mothballing draft laws connected with realizing the Vienna agreements and cited specific instances of unjustified delays over submitting drafts for examination to the Supreme Soviet. The deputy proposed that the Law on Immigration to the USSR and Emigration of Soviet Citizens from the USSR be placed on the agenda for the second session of the Soviet parliament and be given a first reading.

The session was also addressed by People's Deputy K.D. Lubenchenko, representative of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. He believes, in particular, not without grounds, that the legislative enshrinement of the rights and powers of USSR people's deputies and of legislative power in general would be a very important stage of the work on fulfilling the pledges adopted in Vienna.

The discussion which got under way in the committee did not answer all the questions. At the suggestion of Committee Chairman A.S. Dzasokhov, the deputies will monitor the resolution of the paramount problems.

And yet the chief thing of concern to all of us today is the country's economic state and its citizens' living standards. Therefore the most intense debates are taking place in the Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission and in other permanent formations of the Supreme Soviet directly connected with resolving economic and social questions.

More on 27 Sep Discussions

PM0310091589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Reportage by TASS parliamentary correspondents Yu. Bersenev, B. Grishchenko, A. Dzyublo, I. Novikov, and V. Orlov under the rubric "In USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions": "On the Benefit of Constructive Doubts"]

[Text] The 3d day of the USSR Supreme Soviet's work imposed tough terms on parliamentary correspondents: In order to cover all the debates which got under way at the 27 September session, journalists had simultaneously to attend the sittings of several committees and commissions of the country's highest legislative organ.

The range of the questions discussed by the people's deputies was very wide too. With the participation of a number of parliamentary committees **the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions** was to make a principled assessment of the draft plan and budget for next year. The intensiveness of perestroyka in the social sphere is directly dependent on their quality.

Mindful of the great responsibility of this assessment, Commission Chairman N.N. Gritsenko urged the deputies to examine the drafts from the viewpoint of their humane nature. For both these programs must center on the person with his problems, cares, and hopes.

The government allocated excellent forces to comment on the drafts—S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], and L.A. Lysenko, deputy chief of the USSR Finance Ministry Department for Funding Social Development, delivered reports to the deputies. However, their reports did not strike the audience as exhaustive. Many questions preceded no less vigorous speeches, the majority of which contained a generally negative assessment of the drafts.

The drafts' chief shortcoming, Deputy A.G. Zhuravlev believes, is that they do not have accented priorities. In his opinion, the USSR Gosplan and the union Finance Ministry must introduce sections of emergency measures to stabilize the economy. It is necessary to make a more persistent search for ways out of the crisis in which the country finds itself.

People's Deputy A.A. Sidorov demanded guarantees for providing all invalids of the Great Patriotic War and the families of soldiers who died in its fighting with housing in the very near future. He believes that neither draft contains a package of measures to ensure the resolution of this question, whose social and moral weight is obvious.

Given the policy of freezing wage funds and given the budget deficit, the measures to increase wages in the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League and party apparatuses appear strange, to put it mildly, Deputy V.I. Samarin said. He is sure that the logic of this approach will lead to increased spending on the upkeep of the whole superstructure apparatus, which contradicts the emergency anti-inflation measures that society needs. Proceeding from this premise, the speaker made this proposal in particular: Income tax must be per capita, for only in this way can social justice be achieved in the redistribution of means.

Among other complaints against the drafts Deputy V.I. Matviyenko, chairman of **the Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection**, voiced doubt about their balanced nature with regard to material resources.

Every economic reform of ours has ended in failure and a sharp drop in people's living standards, Deputy V.N.

Yaroshenko declared. Let us leave on his conscience the fairness of that trenchant statement. But here is a proposal of his which elicited an approving response: Under the present conditions the country needs to undertake partial denationalization. The sale of apartments and of garden and dacha plots as private property and the creation of a shares market were named as examples.

A number of the debate participants proposed no less radical measures which, in their opinion, can improve our economic situation and, consequently, enhance people's well-being. The idea was advanced, for example, of reflecting a package of antimonopoly measures in the drafts, and a demand was made for the creation of an emergency program to combat poverty.

Representatives of the Gosplan and the Finance Ministry must prepare seriously to reply to these proposals. However, as the commission chairman said when summing up, the dialogue, despite its critical tenor, proceeded in a single language and was constructive in nature: Parliament and the government are together drawing up a strong social policy course, proceeding from the potential of society and the country.

How are the interests of our entire multinational union and of each individual union republic to be combined in dialectical unity? This problem was raised in all its magnitude during a discussion of the country's draft plan and budget at a joint session of **the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commissions for Questions of the Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs and for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations**.

USSR Gosplan Deputy Chairman A.N. Troshin painted a picture of the distribution of material and technical resources for next year. And immediately certain people buried their head in the sand [potyanuli odeyalo na sebya], as it were. Why are state investments in housing construction in the Russian Federation being reduced in 1990? N.P. Mashyanov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Gosplan, who put this question to the main speaker, knew, of course, that these allocations are being cut by a very small proportion in the name of common interests.

The arguments of his colleague from the union Gosplan appear convincing: The country is faced with so many urgent problems. How are we to repair the damage caused by the earthquakes in Armenia and Tajikistan, by the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station, and by the exacerbation of the ecological situation? Was Ye.N. Auyelbekov, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, not right to voice doubt that the government resolution on the Aral Sea is being fulfilled vigorously? And then there are the strikes. Our common pain with regard to the socially unprotected sections of the population. And everything must be improved urgently. Who is to be allocated more resources, and what is to be forgone? This entire knot of complex socioeconomic problems has to be untied by people's deputies, who are to make their proposals at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

E.Y. Vilkas, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Questions of the Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs, raised the question of how to reduce expenditure to the maximum degree. Here are just two areas on this path, but very important ones: the curtailment of centralized capital investments and the reduction of defense expenditure. In this connection one deputy remarked that it is not for nothing that emphasis is placed on the union republics' economic independence: People there must think about making full use of local resources.

V.V. Nikitin today addressed his recent colleagues—members of **the Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food**—in a new capacity. As the leader now heading the government's agrarian sector, he reported on the situation and the immediate prospects in the country's agriculture.

The committee had planned to continue the discussion of "its own" sections of the draft plan and budget for next year through 4 October inclusive. But "hot spots" seem to have taken shape at the very first meeting. E.Kh. Gukasov, leader of the parliamentary subcommittee for investments and material and technical supply, spoke of them. While noting with satisfaction that the government has adopted a decision to give priority to the agro-industrial complex and that planning organs have found it possible to allocate investments for the countryside next year at the level envisaged by the 5-year plan (the agroindustrial complex, like no other sector, has received an additional R1 billion in capital investments), at the same time he made a number of serious comments. For example, capital investments are not covered in full from centralized sources of finance. The prospects for material and technical supply were analyzed most acutely. Committee Members V.I. Shtepo and B.I. Krasnokutskiy and other deputies also voiced dissatisfaction on many points.

Political decisions have overtaken economic ones—this is the opinion of many people's deputies when they characterize the causes slowing up perestroyka. This opinion was also clearly manifested during the discussion of the country's plan and budget for 1990 by the members of **the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management**.

In the opinion of People's Deputy V.I. Karasev, head of a department at Kramatorsk Industrial Institute, planning methods and approaches remain the same as before—that is, the main normatives are determined from above. Take the Ukraine, which produces steel, coal, and much besides, and practically all kinds of agricultural products. While fulfilling state deliveries on all counts, it cannot satisfy its own consumer market. Why? Because everyone needs coal and steel—and it produces them—while consumer goods are in short supply and the republic cannot obtain enough of them.

Therefore it is necessary to change the planning scheme and proceed from the requirements of each specific person.

The draft law "On General Principles of Local Self-Management and Local Economy in the USSR" was examined at the committee's evening session.

The USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee analyzed the progress in fulfilling in the Soviet Union the accords reached by the CSCE participant states at the 1986 Vienna meeting. In this the parliamentarians and representatives of many departments and organizations invited to the session concentrated on questions relating to the sphere of humanitarian cooperation and human rights and analyzed work on bringing Soviet legislation into line with the Vienna final document.

It was no coincidence that the question of humanitarian cooperation—in all its multiplicity—was chosen as the priority topic, A.S. Dzasokhov, the committee's acting chairman, said. According to him, progress in this sphere will serve as a favorable precondition for realizing other important components of the Vienna dialogue. The international community rates the results of the Vienna meeting exceptionally highly and points out at the same time that they were achieved to a decisive degree thanks to the perestroyka under way in the USSR.

The habit of curling up at the mere mention of the problem of human rights seems to be vanishing into the past, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin said when addressing the session. Big positive changes are now taking place in our country in the humanitarian and legal sphere. In the period of perestroyka this topic has begun to occupy an important place in foreign policy too—in accordance with the demands of the nature of our socialist system. At the same time many problems and traces of deformation or, you might say, neglect still exist in this sphere.

There have been tremendous advances in ensuring guarantees of human rights in our country, although this process is taking place creakingly, USSR People's Deputy F.M. Burlatskiy pointed out. He voiced concern at the fact that it is taking a long time to fulfill the pledges adopted at the highest level stemming from the Vienna document.

Appeals were made at the session to accelerate the elaboration and adoption of major pieces of legislation to strengthen the state's law-based nature, including laws on the press, on freedom of conscience, on citizens' emigration, and others, and to bring the practice of realizing the existing laws into line with the Vienna accords. It is also necessary to improve the actual mechanism of this work, maximally involve public and scientific forces in it, and ensure glasnost in the passing of draft laws.

Abalkin Views Cooperatives' Development Problems

PM0210141789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report on 27 September proceedings in USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions meeting in Moscow, under the rubric "Dictaphone in the Auditorium": "Cooperatives: What Lies Ahead? From L.I. Abalkin's Answers to Deputies' Questions"]

[Text] [Question] What's to be done if cooperatives are closed?

[Abalkin] This question needs to be discussed carefully and calmly at a [unspecified] city soviet session. No one can guarantee that we will not make mistakes and commit excesses when cooperatives are closed. I think that life must teach us.... If cooperatives are banned by one city soviet, if real services decrease (because all taxes from cooperative are entirely at the local soviet's disposal), then in due course, when the deputies see how this is done in other civilized places, they themselves will return to this question. Although the cooperatives will be hit... It should be said that the entire world experience of cooperatives' development shows that the most negative influence on their development is unstable policy regarding cooperatives and the tendency to rush from one extreme to another.

[Question] Doesn't the cooperative movement mean a return to private ownership?

[Abalkin] The sale of property into cooperative ownership does not mean the emergence of private ownership. Cooperative ownership means public ownership.

[Question] How can the "loss" of qualified cadres to cooperatives be stopped?

[Abalkin] This question arises very often, and there is no simple solution to it... If a person who switches from a state enterprise to a cooperative one can fully use his qualification, professional knowledge, and earn more, that's fine. We have a mass of examples in construction when labor productivity is two or three times higher at a construction organization, working on state projections and norms, than at a state enterprise. And the problem is not to ban but to create for state enterprises the same opportunities for working honestly, working conscientiously, and for earning without "ceilings" and restrictions. According to the end result of the work.

[Question] What are the prospects for the cooperative movement?

[Abalkin] I should say that when the plan and the budget for 1990 were being formulated assessments were made about how the cooperative sector will develop in 1990. It was difficult to forecast further. We questioned scientists, specialists, and workers in the cooperative movement—the assessments differ substantially, but nonetheless mostly it is a question of pessimistic assessments and a belief that a process of curtailing cooperative activity has now begun.

[Question] How do you explain the disappearance of popular consumer goods?

[Abalkin] The basic reason is connected not with cooperatives' development but with the profound confusion in the state of the consumer market and with the huge growth in the population's unsatisfied demand for everything. As for cooperatives—given that they constitute 2 percent of the volume of retail trade turnover (and even less in other spheres), they could scarcely destabilize this situation.

[Question] Why are cooperatives shamelessly making a fortune from public toilets?

[Abalkin] The local soviets can resolve all these questions. These questions don't need to be decided at the Supreme Soviet.

Debate on Cooperatives Viewed

PM0310100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own parliamentary correspondent Yu. Ursov "Political Diary": The Bright and the Dark Side of the Cooperative Movement"]

[Text] There has been an "explosion" in the cooperative movement. It has occurred during the past 12-18 months, when the number of cooperatives and the volume of their output in terms of cost have increased several-fold. However, at the same time the tensions surrounding the cooperatives were also building up. The hopes that cooperatives would thrive above all in the production sphere and augment the production of goods and the quality and quantity of services accordingly have not been vindicated. On the other hand, cooperatives engaging in trade and procurement and all kind of middle-man functions have sprung up everywhere.

A heated debate flared up immediately after the report on Tuesday [26 Sep] of L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the draft law introducing amendments and additions to the USSR Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR."

"Young lieutenants among my voters write that they do not want to protect the peaceful labor of 'civilized cooperatives' [tsivilizovannye kooperativy]"; "the cooperatives are a cancer on the body of the people"; "my voters take the view that there is a pro-cooperative lobby in the government"—this is the gist of certain statements from the rostrum. Even USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman M.S. Gorbachev, who is traditionally reserved in the course of parliamentary proceedings and who refrains from making assessments during the debate, having heard Deputy D. Kugultinov describe the distortions relating to "concert" cooperatives, could not stop himself from remarking: "One such concert and you have no work for the next 10 years."

Have "anticooperative" emotions, provoked—as some deputies believe—by the omnipotent bureaucratic apparatus, won the upper hand? This would be too simple an explanation. The point, obviously, lies elsewhere. Supreme Soviet members have met their voters during the parliamentary recess and have formed a clear picture of their stances. How do you explain to a worker, for instance, that of the revenue which he has produced only 20-25 percent goes toward wages, while a cooperative member pushing prices for goods to astronomical heights—goods, moreover, that have frequently been purchased in the state trade network or obtained from state supply organizations—pockets up to 50-60 percent of the profit in cash? This permitted Deputy S. Alekseyev to declare that the question of cooperatives has gone beyond the purely economic framework and turned into an acute political problem, but that precisely for this reason we must keep a cool head and resolve it by improving relevant legislation. This viewpoint won the support of other speakers. It was their remarks which "brought down the temperature, which had reached fever pitch" in the hall during the vote on the points of a proposal by a group of deputies, which was not on the agenda, demanding that the activities of certain odious types of cooperatives be suspended as from 1 October and that a ceiling on cooperative prices for goods and services be introduced simultaneously, putting them on a par with state prices or allowing a maximum 10 percent markup. It was decided to pass on these proposals for analysis to the corresponding commissions and committees together with the government draft law, which has passed its first reading.

The social tensions created by the negative, sometimes downright extortionist actions on the part of many coooperatives are approaching breaking point. The first warning signals have already appeared in numerous decisions adopted by local organs, in the materials of the latest All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] plenum, and in recent events in Novyy Uzen and Turkmenia, where cooperative stores were smashed. This is no way to combat distortions in the cooperative movement, of course. However, the problem remains very acute.

I will therefore conclude my description of the parliamentary debate on Tuesday by quoting the great Goethe: Any false argument can be used to knock something down, but it is no use for building anything. So what is false is not constructive.

Supreme Soviet Committee Views Vienna Accords

PM0210150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Second Edition pp 1,5

[A. Lyutyy "Notes on the Hearings at the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee": "Exactingness"; date or dates of hearings not specified]

[Text] What are we doing to discharge our international obligations? Only a few years ago the question would have seemed out of place in a newspaper. The foreign policy sphere was a prohibited area, protected from public monitoring and criticism.

Perestroyka is effecting many changes here too. I sensed this when I became absorbed in the atmosphere of the hearings at the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee. It was discussing the Soviet Union's implementation of the humanitarian and legal aspect of the accords reached in Vienna in January by the 35 countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The people's deputies peeped into that "third basket" which, in the past, we had perhaps at best one-half filled and which caused a great deal of squabbling with the West. As USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A. Adamishin said at the hearings, the habit of cringing at the mention of the words "human rights" is becoming a thing of the past.

What has been done in our country in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Vienna accords in the sphere of expanding contacts between people, spreading information, stepping up international exchanges, and providing legal safeguards for citizens? The speeches at the committee by senior officials of the Foreign Ministry and a number of other departments and the documents presented to the legislators paint on the whole a pretty good picture of real progress. It was literally a few days after the signing of the Vienna meeting Final Document that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo recommended the relevant ministries and departments to immediately embark on the implementation of the accords and bring our domestic legislation into line with the Vienna commitments. For example, within the six-month period fixed in Vienna all the exit applications on which no decision had been made by the end of the Vienna meeting were considered. It was noted at the hearings that, whereas 3 years ago there were 11,000 people on the lists of "refuseniks," at the end of the Vienna meeting there were 2,000. Six months on there are only 299 people who cannot leave the country for reasons of secrecy.

We have to our credit the reform of customs regulations, including the introduction of the so-called "red" and "green" channels, an arrangement whereby members of foreign aircrews can enter without visas, and the imminent opening of a consular center at Sheremetyevo Airport, which will enable foreign transit passengers to travel to the city and see Moscow instead of whiling away hours and sometimes even days at the airport.

A large number of Western countries is setting up cultural information centers in the USSR. "Basic rules regulating the professional activity of foreign media correspondents on the territory of the USSR" have been adopted. I was able to see for myself how much easier they have made our foreign colleagues' lives from the reactions at the information forum held in London in the spring, as part of the Vienna process.

Work is being done on draft laws intended to guarantee a high standard of observance of human rights. They include a draft law on the press and other media, a draft law on freedom of conscience and religious organizations, and a draft law on the procedure whereby Soviet citizens leave and enter the USSR.

So a great deal has been done. But—and this was vigorously emphasized by people's deputy F. Burlatskiy in his speech and by participants of the hearing—clearly not enough has been done as yet. Under the Vienna Final Document the countries that signed it are given a year to bring their domestic legislation into line with the accords. Next January is not far off, yet the practical legislative work is obviously behindhand. Indeed, it is not always carried out in full view of the deputies themselves, of the general public. And, it was pointed out at the hearings, some of the draft laws that have filtered through into the sphere of public opinion suffer from half-measures and weak spots and could come under fire from other CSCE states. For example, the duration of a private trip abroad is limited to 3 months. The problem of recognizing dual citizenship has not been settled. And a person cannot always take advantage of his right to leave the country when he needs to. The lines of thousands of people outside ticket offices have become legendary. Yet Aeroflot and the Ministry of Railways might have predicted a sharp increase in the number of private trips.

The Vienna Final Document calls for high standards in the humanitarian and legal spheres. And although the USSR has criticism to make of a large number of Western countries in connection with Vienna accords fulfillment, we are being scrutinized very closely. Not least because Moscow has been chosen to host a conference on the human dimension of the Helsinki process in 1991.

...During the committee session I could not refrain from comparing it with hearings in the U.S. Congress foreign relations committees. It was not the external features that were interesting but the exacting and caustic approach of the legislators. Would our deputies wilt under pressure from authoritative representatives of executive power? The fears were needless. The discussion was not lacking in emotion, but it was proper and exacting. What acting committee chairman A. Dzasokhov said prior to the hearing about the prospect of a serious discussion was borne out.

As has been reported, a group of deputies proposed setting up a commission on the questions that arose in connection with Soviet press coverage of USSR people's deputy B.N. Yeltsin's trip to the United States. The USSR Supreme Soviet formed the commission on Tuesday [26 September].

Moscow TV Relay of 2 Oct Supreme Soviet Session

1400 GMT

LD0210142889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 2 October begins a recorded relay of the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session held at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1400 Gorbachev opens the session, following the registration of 416 deputies he goes through the agenda: a report from Ryzhkov introducing the next package of legislation under discussion: the laws on property, land, leasing, taxation and the socialist enterprise. Among later business is debate of the situation on the Transcaucasian railroad.

At 1403 Ryzhkov begins to speak. His introductory remarks concentrate on the progress made by perestroyka, refuting arguments that the country should go back to old ways. He speaks of the need to be realistic in view of the current economic and financial situation. Among the principles for the new legislation should be a firm theoretical basis, "not infringing the rights of the union republics" and according with the basis of building socialism. The public and the media particularly must be involved in the new climate of thinking. Ryzhkov says that the government views a great deal of what is in the new legislation very positively.

1412 GMT

LD0210150689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues its recorded relay of the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1412 Ryzhkov stresses the rights of union republics and other units within the federation and goes on to outline the background to and aims of the bill on property. He goes on to give similar treatment to the other bills on the agenda: land, leasing.

At 1437 Ryzhkov continues giving details of the aims of the bill on leasing and anticipating sharp debate on the issues under discussion, particularly the law on the socialist enterprise, which seeks to update the relatively recently adopted law on this. He speaks of enterprises "changing before our very eyes", although a "full-blown market has not been established" yet. This topic is affected by many others, including forms of ownership, land, leasing and taxation. The state orders system is being changed. In the future state orders should be made more attractive to producers by "economic methods". Incentives for both workers and managers should be increased, as enterprises become more independent.

At 1446 he notes that enhanced levels of discipline are required and "profound psychological perestroyka" of both individuals and the system will be needed. "Little time remains for perestroyka" he says, if the reforms are to take root by 1991. The assets of bankrupt enterprises will be liable to auction. Management of production is to be made more democratic through measures such as electing directors of enterprises. In the first half of the year more than 18 million man-days have been lost through interruptions in production. democratization will help to eradicate this problem. changes in the way the trade unions and workers' councils function will back this up.

At 1451 moving on to pay, Ryzhkov says that in order to provide incentives, there will be no maximum wages, everything will depend upon how the enterprise performs, a move away from "the harsh regimentation of the state".

At 1453 he notes that the bill on a single taxation system for the USSR should provide a "main instrument for regulation of the economy" and should stimulate economic activity. At 1456 he says that taxation should not be a punitive instrument. Ryzhkov puts figures on taxation bands, noting that total taxation on an enterprise should not exceed 60 percent. He put figures on the potential total taxation given the 1990-91 budget estimates for national income.

1502 GMT

LD0210161189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues its recorded relay of the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1502 Ryzhkov describes taxation to take into account compensation of scientific integration of developments by enterprises. Taxation should help to stimulate investment and development.

At 1504 he notes that cooperatives should be taxed not on profits but on the sum of what they earn. Ryzhkov then moves on to taxation of individual earnings. A great differentiation in earnings has arisen. This has stimulated inflation. The whole mechanism of income tax has to be restructured. This should happen gradually. We have yet to see how price rises and the new pensions will affect incomes.

At 1507 he says that over 9 million people should have their taxes lowered. Social justice should be ensured. 100 per month minimum should not be subject to tax. It has become clear that taxation should be the affair of the Supreme Soviet, though the republics should have some independence .

At 1510 Ryzhkov mentions that various kinds of taxation are to be abolished. This will be dealt with later. Much explanation will have to be conducted rapidly. He goes on to say that we cannot predict everything that will happen in this area. Leasing has emerged in society from below, from the people. Leasing relations are spreading but problems are holding up the shift to these relations.

The basis has been formed for such relations by normative acts, but more permanent laws are needed to reinforce them.

At 1514 Ryzhkov gives some of the details of the law on leasing. It is becoming easier for an enterprise to go over to leasing.

At 1516 he says that local and traditional features of each republic should be taken into consideration in the drawing up of this law. The Council of Ministers intends the plan to take into account these lew laws being discussed in the interests of further developing and ensuring economic reform.

At 1519 Ryzhkov notes there is a need for laws to be respected and believed in. The draft must be thoroughly discussed. The situation in society must be made calm for nothing can be done properly in a destabilized situation. The psychological approach of people to economic reform must be changed. Good will, patience and restraint are needed. Explanatory work must be carried out by mass media and people's deputies.

At 1521 he says that economic relations must be regulated by new laws. Everyone must be responsible and keep to the law.

Ryzhkov ends his speech at that point.

At 1522 Gorbachev suggests questions be handed in in written form. These draft laws have to be adopted for examination. He notes that several deputies have asked to speak. Let them have their word without debates beginning. The hall votes the proposal. The electronic voting system indicates 356 for, 27 against and 8 abstentions.

At 1528 a break is announced, marking the end of the morning session.

1543 GMT

LD0210173789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1543 GMT on 2 October resumes its recorded relay of the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Gorbachev introduces Vologzhin, chairman of the committee for economic reform. The committee suggested to deputies that they submit their proposals to it before the session. A large quantity of material and proposals has been amassed. Draft laws always have supporters and opponents but joint consideration and examination is essential.

At 1547 Gorbachev introduces Alekseyev, who says that today may be most eventful because of the legislative acts which are now being examined. Immense work has been done to date to prepare these laws, and they are intended to intensify and deepen restructuring. The gigantic monopoly of state ownership must be overcome to allow economic reform to be possible. The law on ownership is closely related to politics. Gorbachev has taken a great part in the drawing up of the draft law on ownership. Collectives are to gain economic independence as a result of these laws.

Local soviets should have total control over land, Alekseyev continues. Gosbank should occupy a central role. The command approach should be out of the question. Strong state power is essential for these reforms. We do not have this yet. Laws are not obeyed; decisions are ignored. We have only 2 months to adopt these economic laws. We can do this. We must use this chance.

At 1555, Deputy Bunich takes the floor in the discussion of the Ryzhkov report and the legislative program. Bunich is from the economic reform committee. He gives his views on the leasing bill, pointing to certain contradictions in the proposals for leasing and land usage. He touches on the problems of possible unemployment and bank interest rates. The problem of pricing cannot be ignored. All of these laws are unified in time, and they are all interlinked: one without the others will not be possible.

At 1607, Deputy Sobchak, chairman of a subcommittee on legislation begins to speak. We have entered a most responsible period he says. He believes the Council of Ministers has acted correctly. It is precisely these laws that have to be adopted. He notes the need not to get bogged down in alternative proposals. Sharing his experience on the process of introducing amendments into legislative proposals, he proposes fresh procedures for proposing amendments.

Reflecting on the nature of property he says that in this matter we must not proceed from the state, but from the individual. But a great step is being taken forward in the new proposals. He offers further reflections on property relations between state and enterprise and goes on to the question of land pointing to the need to face the difficulties that have arisen with leasing on the land. We have to think through the procedure for the transfer of land.

At 1625, Deputy Ryabchenko, deputy chairman of committee for science, education, and culture takes the floor. He gives his views on the principles that have to be taken into account in property legislation. The question of children's rights has to be considered in the matter of property. He notes differences beween economic and cultural and scientific enterprises and asks that the parliamentary committees and commissions consider the importance of culture and science for the destiny of the country.

1632 GMT

LD0210174589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1632 GMT on 2 October continues its recorded relay of the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Gorbachev ends this section of the session, the discussion of the package of laws at this time and asks if there are any further observations.

At 1634, an unnamed deputy asks for clarification of a detailed point. Gorbachev goes on to the vote as to whether the package of laws is to be accepted: 388 are for, 6 vote against, and 7 abstain—amounting to 401 in all. Ryzhkov will now reply to questions.

At 1636, Ryzhkov takes the floor to reply to written questions. Miloserdnyy has noted difficulties with local taxation. There are further question as to how tax concessions for Afghan invalids will apply; a question how new taxation rates will adversely affect a certain enterprise; a further question on the rights to land usage in the republics; question on when a law on pensions will be presented. Ryzhkov says that in October a draft will be presented. A question on the status of works of art is followed by a question on procedures for transition to financial autonomy in the Baltic republics and in Belorussia.

At 1645, Gorbachev speaks about an amnesty for Soviet POW's who have broken the law and fallen into the hands of the Afghan opposition. Procurator General Sukharev takes the floor. There are more than 300 such POW's he says, and outlines the fate of those missing and the various measure taken to return these people home. Some of these people have broken Soviet laws, but we have to take account of the extreme circumstances in which they found themselves. Those 31 who have come home are working normally or studying as a result of the amnesty for these people.

A legislative basis is needed to provide a full amnesty on behalf of the Supreme Soviet for POW's who have broken Soviet laws. This will be of international significance. Sukharev goes on to the question of those former Afghan veterans who are in prison as a result of breaking the law on Soviet territory, the need to pardon them.

1655 GMT

LD0210175489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1655 GMT on 2 October continues its recorded relay of the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Gorbachev asks whether there are any questions for Sukharev. An unnamed deputy says a commission should be set up to deal with the rehabilitation of those veterans who have committed crimes. Sukharev notes the need for there to be proper repentance. Deputy Medvedev asks what crimes are in question, noting the extreme conditions in which these people found themselves. Sukharev says the pardon applies irrespective of the seriousness of the crime. A deputy asks about those who weren't captured. Another deputy makes a point on the notion of a limited contingent of troops in Afghanistan. Gorbachev makes a brief observation on how to proceed further. A deputy asks about the legality of such a measure. Sukharev explains the nature of amnesties as they apply to individuals and to groups of people. A deputy asks about discrimination against those soldiers who weren't captured. Another asks whether those captured will be considered crimials, noting that there were people who were captured without breaking the laws of the USSR. Gorbachev clarifies this point with reference to soviet troops captured in World War II. A deputy calls for the pardon not to be extended to murderers. Sukharev explains his opposition. Another deputy says war crimes have to be separated from other crimes.

At 1717, another deputy tries to broaden discussion by comparing the position of the Afghantsy [Soviet soldiers who served in Afghanistan] with those who took part in World War II. Sukharev sticks to the specific issues of the Afghan war.

At 1719, Vichkauskas is asked again about the position of those wishing to return from abroad to their near and dear.

At 1720, an unidentified deputy asks if the amnesty extends to those who sold arms to the Afghan opposition. He submits supplementary question concerning slander of ethnic minorities in the liminted contingent. Sukharev replies that in principle the amnesty could apply to them on consideration of individual circumstances.

At 1722, another deputy says that in an unjust war, any crime committed cannot be attributed to the soldiers so they should all be pardoned.

At 1723, a female deputy stresses the importance of the humanity of the Soviet state.

At 1724, another deputy wishes to draw a distinction between those who surrended and now live the good life in the West—who should not be given amnesty and allowed to return—and those taken prisoner, who cannot be considered to have acted against the law.

At 1725, Gorbachev asks whether should be continued in the remaining 15 minutes or whether Comrade Voronin should take the floor. They decide to take a break. He reminds deputies of a session of the legislative committee later.

1726 GMT

LD0210190789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1726 GMT on 2 October continues its recorded relay of the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow with the start of the evening session.

Registration of deputies accounts for some 300 present. Deputy Pavlevich of the youth affairs commission reopens the debate on the situation of those taken prisoner in Afghanistan. He recalls meetings at ministerial level which concluded that judicial guarantees in accordance with international law are needed to protect those returning home.

At 1731, another makes the point that being taken prisoner is no crime, and you don't pardon the innocent, so why is an amnesty necessary. Other countries don't consider it so. He questions what kind of example is being set for young people entering the army if those who really committed serious crimes are pardoned. Referring back to the "socialist humanity" mentioned earlier, he states that the socialist humanists included Stalin. He speaks at length about the nature of charity.

At 1739, a deputy representing a veterans' organization is critical of offloading the blame which should lie with those who decided to send the troops into Afghanistan onto those who had to go there. He deems it correct to treat each case individually. Those who return should be treated properly, given housing, and so on.

At 1746, Deputy Bisers takes the floor to ask if the aim is to get those living abroad home or to draw the line at the end of the war. He argues that those sent to fight who could not always bear the experience and committed crimes should all be amnestied. However, treatment for those who ran home and those who ran abroad should be equal.

At 1750, Gorbachev introduces Deputy Tutov. The war was a tragedy, Tutov says. We need to have an attitude to being captured that corresponds to international norms. A commission should be set up to decide each individual case of Afghantsy who were imprisoned.

At 1755, Gorbachev introduces Akhromeyev: during the war 319 people disappeared. Most are imprisoned or are abroad. The majority of these were captured not of their own volition, Akhromeyev says. Each of those imprisoned is a Soviet and we must examine each case. The majority of them are good Soviet citizens. However, there are some who went over to the other side and fought the Soviet soldiers. We are only talking of about 8 or 10 cases which are particularly difficult. He believes that the amnesty should be given to all with the exception of these very few who killed Soviets or tortured them. Akhromeyev agrees that there cannot be two approaches depending on whether Afghantsy are in the USSR or abroad.

At 1801, Gorbachev introduces Deputy Yakushkin. He says that we must bear in mind the pain and tragedy in the lives of the Afghantsy. Every person has his limits. Some even blew themselves up so as not to see things. Many Afghantsy have come into conflict with society owing to a lack of understanding. A wise decision should be taken.

At 1803, Gorbachev introduces Engver. He speaks about justice and mercy. He supports the amnesty. Amnesty is mercy, it can never be justice. Mercy will be needed in ethnic conflicts too. It will never be seen by all as just, but mercy will have to prevail. This is the first time tnat mercy is part of legislative acts. An eye for an eye cannot help us to resolve problems. Either we have mercy or justice. We cannot have justice here because there can be no investigation now. We can only show mercy.

At 1808, Gorbachev introduces another deputy who supports what Akhromeyev said. There should be distinctions made between Afghantsy. What bothers the deputy is the question of whether we have understood what this war was all about. Why did 15,000 die? He addresses his comrade afghantsy, and calls for them to help in the fight against crime.

At 1812, Gorbachev suggests that the session be completed with Zolotukhin's remarks. Zolotukhin voices several criticisms of the draft. He states the need to include those doing national service who fought in Afghanistan. He cites exmaples of individual soldiers who committed various acts. There should be an amnesty but with certain conditions: for instance, no amnesty for murder.

1816 GMT

LD0210191789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1816 GMT on 2 October continues its recorded relay of the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Gorbachev says he believes the debate has been very useful and that the Supreme Soviet was right to include such a detailed examination of the issue. The debate has shown that we are not ready for a decision to be made. There are too many unanswered questions. Perhaps we should trust the various committees for further discussion. This is too crucial an issue to show haste. He calls for votes on whether to hand the issue over to the committees: 394 for, 5 against, 2 abstentions.

At 1821, Gorbachev reminds deputies about Supreme Soviet concern over the situation on the railways, preparations for winter, and particularly the acute situation in Transcaucasia. We then entrusted the government with taking the necessary measures to normalize the situation there, he says. He reads a telegram from Elektrostal on the damage being done by strikes and the railway blockade.

He reads another telegram from workers speaking out against strikes because of the economic damage they cause. There must be an urgent law on industrial conflicts. Another telegram describes difficulties encountered by enterprises as a result of the recent strikes. Gorbachev notes that a group of deputies has expressed a desire to return to the issue of industrial conflicts. Gorbachev then calls on Voronin to provide further information.

At 1827, Voronin says that the situation in the economy is indeed serious. He gives details of damage done by strikes: serious losses in oil, metal production, fertilizers;

he details the loss in roubles of food products and of man-days lost, and other figures. stores of fuel for winter are down. This will affect energy production, he says. Stoppages on the railways are causing great problems in the provision of food to the population.

The situation is particularly difficult in the Transaucasian republics. A draft has been worked out for emergency measures for the national economy to be presented to the Supreme Soviet. He outlines measures to guarantee the functioning of the economy in winter.

At 1836, the continuity announcer says a resolution will be presented to the Supreme Soviet on 3 October.

At this time the recorded relay ends.

Further Reporting on 2 Oct Supreme Soviet Session

Gorbachev Opens Meeting

LD0210165389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, opening the 2 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Good morning, comrades: Please register yourselves. Members of the USSR Supreme Soviet are registering themselves, please go ahead. 401 persons have registered themselves, but here we have 416. We have a quorum; we can work. Allow me to declare our session open.

By way of a short introduction to today's work, comrades, we are sticking to the agenda we have passed. We now intend to listen to a report by Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He is to present the following package of documents: the law—the draft law on ownership, on the land, on leasehold and lease contracting relations, on the system of taxation and on socialist enterprise. We then have the issue of the Afghan veterans, left over from the previous days. I will not call it by its full name, since you know what I am talking about. Furthermore, we agreed during last week's sessions to return to the question of the situation with regard to railway transportation—first and foremost in the Transcaucasus area—should the need for this arise. The situation is such that there is a need for this. That is why there is a proposal to devote the evening session to this question, to hear the USSR Government's information and proposals on this question. This, as it were, was by way of a short introduction to the work to be done today.

The floor is given to comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov.

Ryzhkov Introduces Draft Laws

LD0210155589 Moscow TASS in English 1342 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent: Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov today presented five bills which, he said, should usher in a new phase in economic reform and set the stage for dramatically overhauling relations of production.

The package includes draft laws on property, on a single taxation system, and on socialist enterprises, as well as the draft fundamentals of federal and republican legislation on land and on leaseholding.

Proposing them to the Supreme Soviet, Ryzhkov said they take into account the present condition of society and its preparedness for legal norms that will radically change ways of building socialism, while not amounting to the renunciation of socialism in its truly human and democratic form. Ryzhkov described the bill on property as central to the entire package. He said that in drawing it up, the government proceeded from the premise that it is possible to increase the motivation of enterprises and individuals only through the "destatisation" of the economy and making it really mixed.

The bill formalises the diversity of forms of socialist property as well as individual property ruling out the exploitation of man by man. It offers equal rights and possibilities for developing different forms of property—state, cooperative and personal—and this should bring about appreciable gains in production efficiency.

Ryzhkov said that the bill envisages four kinds of public property—federal, federal-republican, republican and communal—and that it provides for the federal-republican ownersip of land, the depths of the earth, woods, waters and off-shore natural resources.

The Union will retain the possibility of creating uniform standards for the use of land and natural resources with due regard for the interests and requirements of the federation, while the constituent republics will get the right to own and manage natural resources on their own territories.

Describing the draft fundamentals of federal and republican legislation on land, Ryzhkov said land should remain public property which may not be sold or mortgaged. The draft gives elected local governing councils full powers to manage land. They are entitled to confiscate inefficiently used lands and turn them over to another user.

Interference by state and economic agencies in the use of land is prohibited. Land fees should become an important lever stimulating the rational use of land.

The bill on socialist enterprises proclaims the equality of all enterprises regardless of the form of property they represent, and increases the role of eocnomic regulators—such as taxes, interest on loans and securities, and social, ecological and other factors—in relations between the state and the enterprises, Ryzhkov said.

The bill lifts restrictions on enterprises' rights to distribute and use their earnings, while also increasing their accountability. For example, it makes them fully answerable with their property for failures to meet contractual commitments. The property of bankrupt enterprises may be auctioned off.

The pay of workers will have no limit and will hinge only on their enterprise's and their own performance. Interest paid on the enterprise's bonds and shares can form a tangible addition to their earnings.

Ryzhkov described the bill on a single national taxation system, which, he said, should stimulate economic activity, give firm guarantees to socialist enterprises and ensure an economically warranted and socially fair income redistribution. He said the bill is a key element of economic reform.

The bill envisages a profit tax consisting of two parts, one—a fixed 35 per cent of the profits—going straight to the federal budget and the other—to be determined by constituent republics—contributing to their budgets. The total amount of the deductions, however, may not exceed 60 per cent of the profits.

The bill also provides to introduce a special regulating tax on the growth of the wage fund. In the case of cooperative enterprises, including collective farms, taxes will be deduced from net earnings minus all production expenses.

Ryzhkov stressed the need to introduce a phased but drastic income tax reform, including uniform taxation principles for all categories of incomes, a single non-taxable minimum income, and transition to a mandatory declaration of incomes by the population.

The government's objective in this reform is to promote social justice rather than attracting any extra revenue, the premier stressed.

The draft fundamentals of legislation on leaseholding markedly simplify procedures for leasing enterprises and stipulate the right to collective ownership, including buy-outs. Leaseholder enterprises will use their own funds to form a stock of shares making every worker a co-owner of the enterprise.

Noting diverse forms of relations of leaseholding, Ryzhkov said that each constituent republic will adopt its own law on leaseholding, based on the basic principles of the submitted bill and on local conditions.

Ryzhkov concluded by saying the package if geared towards forging a "new-look" socialist economy and developing market-oriented relations as long-term and stable factors for increasing production efficiency.

Excerpts of Ryzhkov Speech

LD0210113189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Oct 89

["Excerpts" of speech by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at the 2 October Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, today no one has any doubt that the success of economic reform and thus of the entire perestroyka depends to a decisive extent on what directions the transformation of ownership will take. The structure of ownership should be based on the ideals and values of humane and democratic socialism. In drawing up the draft law on property, we have proceeded from the fact that today's problems and contradictions cannot cancel out the fundamental factors. The first such factor is the existence in our country of socialist public ownership, which is expressed in the working people's—hence society's and the people's—ownership of the basic means of production. This form of ownership is, without exaggeration, one of mankind's achievements. Its essence is to create wide opportunities for the working man and guarantee him his due place in society. The second fundamental factor is that private ownership of the means of production, founded upon the exploitation of man, has been surmounted, and personal property based upon labor has been formed.

The great potential inherent in the structure of ownership, regrettably, was not fated to be fully revealed in our society. The entire structure of ownership was nationalized across the board; the utilization of cooperative property was sharply reduced because of the artificial curtailment of the activities of most types of cooperatives and because of what amounted to nationalization of kolkhozes and consumer cooperatives. Private sector labor activity in agriculture, cottage industries, trading, and consumer services was halted. All-people's ownership itself turned into intensely centralized, bureaucratically organized state ownership. These processes continued until very recently.

In drawing up new legislation, the government proceeded from the premise that enterprises' and citizens' economic interest in efficient management can be enhanced only on the basis of denationalization of the economy and the formation of a genuine multiplicity of structures. At present, 90 percent of the main means of production belong to one owner, the state. This means that all talk of developing the market remains without content, and the practical movement of the country toward progress is thus impossible. The draft law consolidates the multiplicity of forms of socialist ownership, public ownership, and also of ownership by the citizen, which excludes man's exploitation of man. This is an important step toward creating the prerequisites for deepening economic reform. We proceed from the premise that public property is also the property of the state, of cooperatives, of public organizations, of joint stock companies, and of other economic partnerships.

their rational combination must be determined by efficiency in the conditions of a regulated socialist market and by their ability to meet social needs most rationally.

One of the most difficult issues, and one that is arousing much discussion at the present time—evidently the debate will continue in the Supreme Soviet—is the delimitation of a unified state ownership vested in the whole nation. The proposal is that the following types of state property be outlined: all-Union property; Union-Republic property—that is, property of the Union and of the corresponding republic; republican—that is, of the Union autonomous republics; property of the national-territorial and administrative-territorial formations; and communal property. This solution is determined by logic itself and by the federal nature of the USSR. It is closely connected with the forthcoming transfer of the Union republics and of particular regions of the country to financial autonomy and self-financing and creates the necessary legal basis for this.

A prediction of how these different types of distribution of state property will proceed, and what processes common to the whole country will develop here, can be made on the basis of the experience of Belorussia's transition to regional financial autonomy. Roughly half of that republic's industrial output will come from enterprises that are being transferred to republican ownership. At present only 7 percent of industrial output is produced at enterprises under the republic's authority. The proportion of workers employed at enterprises involved in material production that are under the republic's jurisdiction will be almost doubled to more than 60 percent. The republic will plan independently nearly two-thirds of its capital investments. It is estimated that in the country as a whole, about 70 percent of the total capital assets of the national economy, including the predominant part of funds for nonproduction purposes, will be under the authority of the Union republics.

As you see, comrades, the national economies of the Union republics assume, in effect, a new quality.

Without dwelling in detail on other provisions of the bill concerning the transfer to the state of the type of ownership—I refer to Union and autonomous republics and other administrative-territorial formations—I would like to say this concerning all-Union property: For our socialist federation this possesses special significance, both economic and political. From an economic view point, such types of production in which all Union republics and regions of the country are interested should indisputably come under state jurisdiction as all-Union property. From a political viewpoint, all-Union property has an integrating basis by promoting the creation of conditions for the harmonious development of all the country's nationalities and ethnic groups and for the consolidation of the forces of society for the strengthening of the state's economic and political power. All-Union property can, of course, develop and function only in organic interaction with all other types of ownership. Hence it follows that we must consistently pursue the line of granting equal rights and opportunities for development of all types of state ownership and of ownership of cooperative and other public organizations, as well as citizens' property. Herein lie the specific roads to the emergence of a multistructured economy.

I should especially like to stress that the transformation of ownership relations is not an aim in itself. It should ensure substantially improved efficiency of production. Only on this basis is it possible to decisively change the situation in the country and to create a dynamic, flexible economy oriented to the solution of social problems and to the needs of Soviet man. At the same time, the state has no right to use its power in a sovereign manner for the creation of any economic privileges for any particular type of ownership. All proprietors, regardless of which sector they function in, must have equal access to the sources of the necessary material and financial resources and to the sale of the output they produce on the domestic and foreign market for the nationwide market, regardless of which Union republic's territory and whose ownership the enterprise finds itself in. If this principle is not followed in practice, then the unified market itself will not exist.

One more issue on which lively discussion has developed is the attitude toward private ownership. Certain comrades link the main hope for the development of our economy and society with precisely this issue. But, nevertheless, let us remember that we are living at the end of the 20th century, not in the mid-19th century. Even in the developed capitalist countries, private ownership of the means of production by individual citizens has long ceased to serve as the main base of the economy. As a rule, the owners are joint stock companies or corporations, which can only with great reservations be described as private ownership.

It is known that Marx linked the dismantling of traditional private ownership with the development of joint stock companies. A joint stock enterprise is a form of collective ownership that may also be used in a socialist economy. We have steered a firm course toward supporting it.

At the same time, the law substantially broadens the opportunities for citizens independently to organize production based on private ownership. All restrictions on any forms of property that can be used in individual labor activity are effectively removed. I must say that the draft law on ownership is the pivot of an integrated system of measures that are contained in the whole package of documents put forward for consideration by the session.

It is precisely in the transformation of the attitude toward ownership that the interests of the working people and various social groups are most closely interviewed. It is precisely here that careful consideration of each step is especially important. The draft law is now being worked through in detail in the Committee on

Legislation, Legality, Law and Order, the Committee on Economic Reform, and other committees. The necessary more precise formulations will presumably be introduced into this major law to take account of the discussion on it.

Comrades, the issue of land relations is the main issue of agrarian policy at the present stage. The need for radical changes in land legislature has arrived. The legal system in effect here is hopelessly out of date. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which are the main owners of the land, are fettered by a multitude of normative acts. In the system of economic relations that has become established in the rural areas, the peasant has been given the role of a hired laborer who in many respects has ceased to link his fate with the land as the fundamental means of production. This has given rise to social passivity and passivity in terms of production. this, in turn, has had an extremely negative effect on the development of the country's entire agroindustrial complex and has hit hard at the provision of food for the population. While separating the land from the peasant as its master, the legislation currently in force has at the same time proved to be powerless in the face of departmental monopolism and has been unable to prevent the mass withdrawal of land from agricultural use. This process has assumed threatening proportions.

So what mechanism for putting land ownership into effect best satisfies society's new requirments? There are differing viewpoints on this. Some propose dividing the state-owned land up into seperate parts and allocating them as the property of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, or citizens. Some are even proposing that we switch to private ownership of the land. Most agrarian scientists and practical workers, however, are convinced that in conditions of a socialist management system there are no grounds for abandoning the people's ownership of the land. The important thing is to change the procedure under which it is made available for us. In other words, the point of agrarian reform must be not to dismantle the principle of nationalization of the land, nor to abandon state ownership of the land, but to refine the ways in which this is put into effect.

The draft law on the land has been based on the appeal from agrarian deputies to the congress of USSR People's Deputies, proposals made by local soviet and economic bodies of the republics, krays and oblasts and by scientific establishments, and numerous publications on ways of developing agroindustrial production. The government was guided by the following considerations when drawing up the draft: first, the law must ensure conditions for the rational use of land, the regeneration of soil fertility, and the proper protection of land resources; second, it must restore the Leninist understanding of land ownership and secure the principle of the sovereignty of local soviets in the sphere of land relations; and third, it must promote the development of all efficient methods of farming the land.

Without summarizing the draft, I would like to dwell on just a few of its basic provisions.

Above all, land must remain public property; it cannot be sold or mortgaged. The goal is to create the most favorable conditions for the people who use the land and genuinely involve the local soviets in this most important matter. It is the soviets—and no other organs—and the agricultural organizations that receive the authority to take change of the land. Now they will have the right to remove inefficiently used arable land and place it at the disposal of another user who is able to manage it more rationally. This is right, because the soviet bears not only full responsibility for preserving and increasing soil fertility, but also for the most important thing: providing the population with food. For the first time, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, peasant holdings, and other users of the land are legally granted the right to choose independently—in the interests of increasing efficiency—the system of farming and the production structure, as well as to use for farming needs, in accordance with established procedure, forest land and areas of water. Interference by state and economic organs in the use of land granted for tenure is forbidden. Thus both the authority of the soviets in disposing of land and the right of the users to farm the land independently are guaranteed.

The next question of principle is payment for land tenure. This does not have a simple history. It is taken for granted that we do not have payment for land. Formally it is so, but in reality rent is collected today. Only it is done on the basis of an extremely contradictory and confused mechanism: the differentiation of purchase prices. The proposed principle of payment for land tenure must be based on a precise and objective economic mechanism. When payment for land becomes an important lever to guarantee equal conditions for farming and a stimulus to rational land use, it will also seriously restrain the squandering of land.

The following facts reveal that glaring mismanagement is tolerated here. From 1962 to 1987—over 25 years—the country acquired 26 million hectares of plowed fields. Direct expenditure on this goal was about R60 billion. That is almost as much as is earmarked for the development of the entire social sphere in rural areas over the 5-year-plan period. However, the increase in arable fields in the country amounted to only 4 million hectares.

The point is that, in the same period, 22 million hectares of cultivated land stopped being farmed and was turned over to all manner of nonagricultural production—quarries and other facilities. six million hectares were completely abandoned and have become overgrown. The introduction of payment for land, along with the steps to promote economically a rational utilization of land envisaged by the bill of law, should in our opinion put a stop to irresponsible attitudesd toward the land.

The issue of drawing a line between the competence of the USSR and the Union republics in the sphere of land relations is tackled in the bill, based on the fundamental provisions of the law on property. Evidently only the task of regulating the basic provisions relating to land tenure and land tenure regulations, the right to dispose of the land to satisfy statewide and interrepublican requirements, and the needs of the country's defense and security should remain within the jurisdiction of the USSR.

Moreover, this right is to be realized on the joint decision of the supreme executive and management organs of power of the USSR and of the Union republics. In the event that mutually acceptable solutions are not reached, the bill provides for the issue to be examined by the USSR Supreme Soviet and for it to make the final decision. All other matters relating to the regulation of land relations are to be handed over to the jurisdiction of the republics and the local soviets of people's deputies.

The bill pays particular attention to the issues of land use in areas where small nationalities and ethnic groups live. This is a very acute problem to which unpardonably little attention has been paid for a considerable length of time. A consistent policy of maintaining the conditions of normal life and of developing all the peoples of the Soviet Union is a most important and integral part of the nationalities policy of the party and the Soviet state. particularly close attention must be paid to these issues.

Serious hopes for the restructuring of production relations in the rural areas are pinned on leasing. The experience so far testifies to the great effectiveness and huge potential offered by this form of management. we cannot, however, turn a blind eye to the fact that in many places the initiative and independence of lease-holders is being fettered. Sociological research has shown that around 50 percent of lease-holders cannot produce the output that they consider to be necessary and advantageous; 75 percent of them complain of bans on selling their produce as they see fit and of restrictions on economic enterprise. The new law is intended to strengthen the legal protection of lease-holders and to create a system of reliable guarantees in their work for any lease-holding collective.

Further on Ryzhkov Speech

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["Excerpts" of speech by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the Supreme Soviet session 2 October at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Freedom for enterprises in planning their economic activity will remain an empty word unless they have sufficient rights in distributing and using their earnings. Until now this process has been harshly regulated by norms set by directives. The new draft scraps the restrictions in this respect, though it's a point on which many managers and academics are voicing apprehension. Let's take a realistic view of things: one cannot fully rule out the possibility that some collectives will give preference to their immediate interests, to the detriment of production development prospects. Of late, there have been outbursts of narrow group demands at certain enterprises, and these have vividly demonstrated that such a danger really does exist. And this, despite the fact that by 1990 the wage funds for workers and office staff will be approximately 31 percent up on the 1985 figure, as against the 17.7 percent envisaged by the 5-Year plan.

As for the cooperative sphere, it is evident that this year's wage fund will come to R15 billion, with the possibility of a further 50 to 100 percent increase in the future. It is clear that the regulation of such powerful and dynamic processes must be performed at a qualitatively new level. For this reason it is proposd that a system of tax regulation of the way enterprises use their finance resources be introduced. This is not a fiscal measure; the point behind it lies elsewhere. The state will grant substantial benefits to enterprises that plough resources into technical retooling, production modernization, improvements in output quality, and the construction of housing or environmental protection facilities. If, however, consumerist attitudes begin to prevail and the aspiration surfaces to increase earnings unjustifiably to the detriment of technical development; a tax sanction system will come into force automatically. This will tangibly—not through persuasion but in cash terms—signal the need to change the chosen path. Thus, knowing in advance the system of taxation conditions, enterprises will be able themselves without any instruction from above to find an optimal correlation between the consumption funds and the production and social development funds from their own resources.

The freedom to choose ways of using earned resources fills with real content the democratic management principle at enterprises. All this considerably broadens enterprises' self-reliance and opens up new opportunities for efficiency in economic management with the aim of resolving all social and production issues of labor collective. However, it is quite understandable that the broadening of enterprises' powers must be accompanied by enhancing their responsibility so that each ruble is backed by output. Only on this basis is it possible to ensure a balance both at the consumer market and in the production sphere.

At the basis of the new economic management system there is above all a high degree of organization, discipline, and co-responsibility. Real financial autonomy, the transfer to self-financing and self-management, a direct mutual link between wages and work results are impossible without them. This means that an in-depth psychological perestroyka is needed not only in labor collectives and administration bodies but also in society as a whole. Only on this basis will we be able to overcome the phenomenon that has long been customary of loss-making enterprises and organizations—there are over 1,700 of these in our agriculture and almost 7,500 in industry and other spheres of the economy. The total amount of losses exceeds R5 billion.

In accordance with the draft law, the machinery of redistribution of resources, which allows such enterprises to live and sometimes to lead a comfortable existence at the expense of others, is eliminated. And if the law comes into force from 1991, then little time will remain for restructuring in this matter. Another powerful lever is introduced: full liability as to property.

An enterprise which fails to fulfill obligations which it has undertaken will answer to its partners or to the state with all its property, including its fixed assets. And, in case of bankruptcy, the property of such an enterprise can be auctioned. This must be seriously pondered by our economic managers, above all, of those enterprises and organisations that have debts and are accustomed to operating at a loss.

I ought to deal with the subject of the democratization of industrial management. Its optimal combination with unified management and discipline occupies a central place in the proposed draft law. That is not fortuitous. Practice has shown that we have gone wrong in a number of ways in such matters as the appointment by election of managers of enterprises and the determination of the powers of the labor collective and of its council. This is shown for example by the sharp rise in annual turnover of cadres among managers of enterprises. This could not fail to affect labor discipline. As a result, losses of working time in industry and construction alone in the first half of this year have already exceeded 18 million man-days.

If you think about it, the existing system of forming the management body has, on the one hand, proved to be insufficiently democratic and on the other has created serious difficulties in the relations of the managers of enterprises both with their collectives and with the higher administrative bodies.

Can a system be considered democratic when the labor collective elects the head of an enterprise but a higher body has the right not to appoint him to the post, in other words to reject the collective's decision? As world experience shows—and it shows us, too—the head of an enterprise must have the necessary powers for as long as these are in effect and not be dependent on the changeable moods of the members of the collective under his management. Otherwise it is simply impossible to organize modern production and guarantee stable high results of economic operation. The function of selecting a leader who has the necessary professional qualities must fall within the competence of the owner of the means of production combined with the appropriate consultation with public organizations and enterprises. That is logical and fair. It is along that path that we are proposing to proceed.

For the state enterprises the draft bill envisages, in particular, the nomination of a candidate for the director's post by a higher body and approval of him by a meeting of the labor collective. The collective has the right to reject the candidate proposed to it and in that event it must be offered another. This procedure, by safeguarding the selection of the most competent businesslike production chiefs, is in our view more democratic for it assumes that the last word in the selection of a leader will belong exclusively to the labor collective. A meeting of the relevant collective will approve the heads of production projects, shop floors, departments and other such sections of an enterprise while heads of administrative services, deputy directors and middle management are to be appointed to their posts and released by the head of the enterprise. In this way the democratic process for the forming of the management body at an enterprise is freed from internal contradictions and becomes more streamlined and smooth.

Taking consideration the experience which has been gained, the powers and competence of the general meeting have also been specified more precisely and provisions on the role and place of labor collectives' councils have been formulated more exactly. That is necessary since they are increasingly becoming an active form of the participation of the working people in the manaement of production and resolving socioeconomic tasks. That is on the one hand.

On the other hand, substantial changes are taking place in the activity of trade unions which are handing over a significant part of their powers, particularly in the production sphere, to these councils.

The role of members of the labor collective is being strengthened, as is that of trade union and public organizations in leasehold, cooperative, and joint-stock enterprises' management bodies. We are taking this step in order to safeguard in reality the socialist nature of all forms of ownership.

And, finally, an issue which is of interest to everyone, that is pay. In the new draft the labor income of each worker, regardless of the form of ownership and management, is determined only by final results of work and by the personal labor contribution of each worker and is not restricted by any maximum limit.

Interest and dividends paid out on bonds and acts of the labor collective could became a tangible addition to personal incomes. At state enterprises where this new form of distribution of income is in use, staff are already getting up to 25 percent of their average earnings in addition. Accumulations of share and part capital will also serve as sources of additional earnings for cooperative and leasehold enterprises. The size of these payments will depend wholly upon how the enterprise operates and what profit it makes.

As you see, in all matters of organization of production, relations within economic units and salaries, the law draws a precise line rejecting strict regulation on the part of the state. All this become the exclusive prerogative of the enterprise and its labor collective.

Such are the fundamental aspects proposed in the draft law. It encompasses all the diversity of economic activity of the socialist enterprise. It reveals fundamental principles in the sphere of price formation, finances, material and technical provision, and the development of foreign economic ties. It is furthermore important that the policy of expanding the independence of enterprises and democratization of management imbues every section of the draft law.

Comrade deputies! A draft law on a single tax system of the USSR, which is being adopted in our country for the first time in the last almost 60 years, has also been submitted for your consideration. During many decades, our state built its relations with enterprises and prayers of taxes and other payments on the principle of [word indistinct], confiscating first and then according to the proportions set by the plan and budget. As a result, some paid too much whereas others lived in effect at the expense of other people. While this method was used, any economic self-reliance—and even more so interest in increasing profits—was out of the question.

Different sizes of payments even within a single industry, different benefits, attempts to make individual payment norms fit the specific features of various industries and enterprises, the absence of common criteria for personal taxation—it is as a result of these and other phenomena that we do not at present have healthy economic relations that would allow enterprises and organizations to develop efficiently and interact in a normal way with the state. This is plainly out of step with the fact that we have all now gained a certain amount of experience and are forming an understanding of progressive management methods and a definition of social justice. The government began its preparatory work on the new draft with the assumption that the taxation system should be one of the main tools of economic regulation and should create equal conditions for everyone involved in social production to run their economic affairs and use their earnings.

And it's not the state, as embodied in the USSR, the Union and Autonomous Republics, and the local soviets, that should adapt to the particular features in the work of each object of management, but on the contrary, all the enterprises that are bound to be guided in their activities by a single set of requirements and regulations. This is what we see as the main task confronting the taxation system. It must also ensure social justice in regulating citizens' money incomes; the differences in the levels of these incomes are objective ones and the taxation system must respond sensitively to them.

We are, therefore, talking about a legal enactment designed to resolve several problems within the framework of the current economic reform and, above all, to stimulate economic activity, provide firm guarantees to the primary link in the economy—the socialist enterprise—and ensure economically justified and socially just redistribution of income. This means that the draft law being submitted is one of the main elements of the economic reform.

The question of deciding what should be taxed has been hotly debated. The draft proposes introducing a tax on profit, as the indicator that most fully describes the final results of the work of each labor collective. This decision is in keeping with world practice. As for a category such as income—the proceeds of all types of economic activity minus the sum of material expenditures—it is deemed undesirable to tax this amount, with the exception of the cooperatives, in view of the substantial differences in the proportion of income allotted to wages between enterprises of various branches of industry. This has in effect made it necessary to turn once again to individual rates of taxation payments.

First of all I will deal with the system of payments made to the budget by enterprises and organizations. Its essence is that it should actively promote a decisive turn in the economy toward dynamism and the simplification of economic relations, stimulate the increased accumulations without detriment to the economic and financial interests of enterprises, and at the same time guarantee stability in the forming of state revenue. The draft law is based upon the principle that payments from profits are made through a single channel. The tax payment must be a single payment, and the rate must be stable and clear to every working person. We consider it possible in this connection to give up in future a payment such as the payment for the productive capital. It should be borne in mind that only 28 percent of enterprises are able to make even 3 percent of payments for capital. Moreover, doing away with payment for the capital considerably simplifies mutual relations with the budget, and this is also not unimportant.

The keystone of any taxation system is the tax rate. Today one often hears from the enterprises that an excessive proportion of the profit they are creating is being taken away from them. The principle embodied in the law starts from the premise that tax should not fulfill the function of an instrument of economic punishment, but ought to stimulate in every way the social and productive development of the enterprises. At the same time, the tax rates must be such as to guarantee budget income at a level that will enable the state and the union republics to finance the expenditure that is laid on them.

The draft provides that the tax on profits will consist of two parts. One of them, going into the union budget, is set firmly at 35 percent. The second is fixed at levels set by the union republics, this part of the tax being paid into their budgets. The total limit of both parts of the tax must not exceed 60 percent of profits. It is taken into consideration here that on account of provision of benefits and introduction of a number of alterations to the calculation of production costs, the norm of payment in comparable conditions will, according to estimate, total 48-49 percent for the country as a whole. Calculations show that with taxation at this level, the interests of the enterprises and the interests of the state and republic will be combined.

At the same time it should be emphasized that such a substantial redistribution of the finances of the republic between the state budget and that of the union republics, and also with the part of the profit remaining at the disposal of the enterprises, will naturally lead to changes in financing from the center. It is well-known that the union republican budgets finance the bulk of the expenditure on the development of health care, education, and culture; pensions are paid out of it, as are other outgoings on social development; subsidies on agricultural produce are set aside; central capital investment is funded, including for the creation of a certain part of the material and technical basis of the social sphere and for the construction of certain very important production facilities in the national economy, and expenditure on government and defense.

In the proposed draft, the rates of taxation are not arbitrary. They are the result of calculations involving many options, and are based on an analysis of the dyanmics of the state's financial resoures and the forthcoming redistribution of the functions of the USSR government, the government of the union republics, and enterprises. The calculations for the draft state plan for the country's economic and social development for 1990 envisage the profits of the national economy amounting to R258 billion. That is in the draft plan. Of this, R168 billion are taxable profit. If the proposed taxation rates were to come into force on 1 January, 1990, then the total would be approximately R98 billion. As you know, the draft plan for 1990 envisages profitable enterprises contributing R108 billion to the budget from their profit. It is not hard to see that we do not propose increasing the tax burden of enterprise. But nor should it be forgotten that the priority development of the social sphere, the review of pension legislation and the rapid development of the agro-industrial complex will, in the coming year, invevitably place a greater strain on the budget. Preliminary calculations show that by 1995, just centralized funding and expenditure on social and cultural events alone will increased by R89 billion while their share will increase from 22 to 27 per cent of all state expenditure. When preparing the law on taxation, we could not ignore this, either.

Such calculations and studies of the sizes of tax rates will be submitted to appropriate committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. With the aim of broadening the rights of the union republics and strengthening their financial bases, it is planned to hand over in full to the competence of the union republics the right to set the size of taxes in spheres such as municipal management, everyday services for the population, and agriculture—including state farms. Taxes levied from enterprises of these spheres must be fully included in the budgets of the union republics. When preparing the draft law, the question was thoroughly studied of what the tax benifit system should be like. We believe that in this regard we should abandon the approach to this problem that has traditionally taken shape when numerous applications flood in from ministries, departments and enterprises for various benefits and advantages to be provided.

Benefits should be exceptional in nature. Their structure can only be dictated by state interests and must not bring us back to the false track of budget payments which are set individually. What should be given priority, however? In our conviction, the tax system must take upon itself refunding part of what an enterprise spends on development and installation of new machinery, on implementation of environmental measures. It should give advantages to enterprises that are being newly created in the areas of the Far East and the far North. And undoubtedly it is necessary to create powerful incentives to increase production of consumer goods and development of the social sphere. The draft law takes into account these requirements at present, the higher administrative bodies levy about 8 percent of the profit earned by enterprises.

The greatest burden here is placed upon highly-efficient enterprises which work steadly. The law envisages that enterprises will hand over profit to tackle industrial and interindustrial tasks on a voluntary and mutually beneficial basis only. Centralized ministerial and departmental funds are being set up in order to finance the necessary general industrial scientific and technical programmes and also to finance implementation of innovatory measures to develop industries; resources from these funds are directed in the form of deductions from enterprises' taxation payments coming into the union and republican budgets. A real step is thereby being made to overcome the hitherto existing practice whereby the centralized funds of the ministry served as the means of covering every possible kind of expenditure, and frequently mismanagement, including financing loss-making enterprises.

Draft Laws Accepted for Study

LD0210131989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Report by correspondent Marina Novitskaya on the 2 October USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] At today's Supreme Soviet session, it was decided not to open a debate but just to listen to the representatives of the Committee for Economic Reform Questions and the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. The floor was given to economists Vologzhin and Bunich and to lawyers Alekseyev and Sobchak. The last two are specialists in economic law. In the opinion of these deputies, the adoption of the laws will determine the further development of economic reform.

The session decided to accept the package of draft laws for study. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov is now answering deputies' questions.

Deputies Discuss 5 New Draft Laws

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[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondents:

A package of five fundamental draft laws—on property, land, lease, a uniform taxation system, the socialist enterprise—was submitted by the government to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. These laws constitute the new stage of radical economic reform in the USSR.

The proposed draft laws are to be considered in committees and commissions and will subsequently be debated at the session of the Supreme Soviet. These documents were circulated in advance, however, and debates already have taken place. As a result some deputies requested the presidium to give them the floor so that they could state the viewpoint of committees and commissions on these draft laws.

Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee on Legislation, Legality and Law, emphasised that the package of documents must be based on uniform principles and worded the most important of them.

He said that new laws must give collectives of working people real economic independence, economic power over means of production. "There is no use in saying again and again that collectives must have a sense of being their own master. They should simply become masters. It is said that masters do not strike, and I would mention another thing, that given normal economic conditions, masters do not work negligently. And this is a key to the solution of difficult economic, social and other tasks", Alekseyev emphasised.

Will the laws become effective? Another representative of the Committee on Legislation, Legality and Law, deputy Anatoliy Sobchak tried to answer this important question.

He criticised the unchanged notion of property recorded in the Constitution according to which the economic basis consists of socialist property: First of all state property, then collective property and, lastly, citizen's property, which has a secondary, consumer character.

The speaker suggested a different way of classifying the relations of property—basing them not on state, but on man. Both the state and the collective are secondary formations, he said. It is precisely citizen's property that should be registered and guaranteed protection, above all.

Deputy Pavel Bunich, deputy chairman of the Committee on Economic Reform, called for a transition to standard measures from exrtraordinary measures that result in a tactical gain at the expense of strategic loss, and pointed out inherent contradictions in the package of draft laws.

He noted, specifically, that the draft law on property does not record the notions of collective property, that questions or repeated taxation, a possible emergence of unemployment, problems of price formation, insurance and others, remain unresolved.

The speaker also stressed that all these laws should be passed simultaneously. If enterprises are leased without taxation, without an economic evaluation of land, this will not be a fully-fledged lease. If they pay the same amount to the budget as previously, they will essentially have their wage fund and development fund set from above.

After the deputies' speeches, the Supreme Soviet instructed its permanent bodies—committees and commissions—to analyse and refine the proposed draft laws and submit them to the session.

Amnesty for POW's in Afghanistan Proposed

LD0210172589 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Deputies of the Supreme Soviet have discussed a bill to amnesty all Soviet servicemen taken prisoner-of-war in Afghanistan who committed crimes there. Marshal Akhromeyev told MPs that in the 9 years in Afghanistan, 312 people have been reported missing in action; this is just a fraction of the 520,000 servicemen who were sent to Afghanistan.

Many MP s noted that imprisonment was no crime in itself, but warned against unconditional pardons of deserters who had actively engaged in fighting against their own countrymen on the military opposition's side.

(?With) opinions split as to who should be eligible for amnesty, Mikhail Gorbachev, who presides at the session, proposed that the draft be discussed in various committees before it was put to vote.

Sukharev Cited on Amnesty for Troops

LD0210173689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Oct 89

["Diary of the USSR Supreme Soviet session:" Commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy report]

[Excerpts] [Ruvunskiy] The sitting of the session is resuming at this moment, after the interval. I will dwell briefly on what happened at the morning session. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report on five draft laws. He submitted the draft laws on ownership in the USSR; on socialist enterprise; on land relations; on a unified taxation system in the USSR; and on leasing leasehold and relations.

Then the floor was given to representatives of the committees and commissions. Deputy Vologzhin, chairman of the Committee on Economic Reform Issues, dwelt in detail on alternative draft laws and described how they had arisen.

Comrade Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee on Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Issues assessed the draft laws not only from the legal point of view, but also from the political and philosophical viewpoints. He noted that these laws are expected to deepen perestroyka and that they will lead us to major economic transformations.

Economics Professor Bunich, deputy chairman of the Committee on Economic Reform Issues, dwelt in detail on certain contradictions in the draft laws and on their interrelationship. The speech by Professor Sobchak, chairman of the subcommittee on economic legislation, was devoted to the role of the new draft laws in the life of society. [passage omitted]

At the end of the morning sitting, Comrade Sukharev, USSR procurator general, delivered a report on questions of an amnesty for former servicemen of the Soviet trooops in Afghanistan who have committed crimes and found themselves imprisoned by the Afghan armed opposition. It is presumed that there are about 300 such servicemen. Some of them have died, some are being held by the opposition armed formations, and some have ended up in foreign states. Comrade Sukharev said in particular:

[Begin Sukharev recording] The problem has proved to be a complex one. It has become known that under extreme conditions certain servicemen committed illegal and even criminal acts against their motherland, acts that are punishable under our law. We cannot, however, avoid taking into account the exceptional nature of the circumstances in which these young people found themselves, not to mention the torments which they have undergone in captivity and in foreign lands. For this reason, as long ago as July 1988, the USSR procurator general, being guided by principles of humanism and on behalf of the Soviet State, announced that if the servicemen who belonged to the Soviet troops in Afghanistan should return to their motherland from captivity and foreign countries, they will enjoy all the political, social, and other rights of Soviet citizens which are stipulated by the USSR Constitution.

As for those who did not withstand the torments and deprivations of captivity, and committed illegal acts, they will be amnestied. Our state has confirmed that the obligation which it assumed is a true one. All those who have returned to the motherland—31 people, including 5 [who returned] after this announcement—are working or studying, and enjoy rights and freedoms to the full, the same as other citizens. The bodies of the Procurator's Office have halted criminal cases which had been opened earlier. On 16 August this year such guarantees were provided in a resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It clearly states, and I quote, that all Soviet servicemen who were taken captive in Afghanistan and who have returned to the motherland, will in no way have their rights encroached on, and will be able to enjoy to the full the civic rights stipulated by the USSR Constitution, while the Soviet state, proceding from the supreme considerations of socialist humanism, will display magnanimity and mercy toward those who have committed illegal acts. Such individuals will be freed from criminal answerability for the crimes committed.

Nevertheless, comrades, in order to lend greater clarity and authority to our standpoint, legislative decisions at the level of the USSR Supreme Soviet are necessary. Incidentally, both the Soviet and the foreign publics are speaking out in favor of this. for this reason, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has instructed me to submit for your consideration a draft Supreme Soviet resolution on a full amnesty for all those Soviet servicemen who have been taken prisoner by the Afghan armed opposition, who are abroad, and who have committed any crime, if they declare their wish to return to the motherland.

We are convinced that this humane act by the Soviet state will be of immense legal, political, and international significance. It will help to activate the efforts by the Soviet and foreign publics, and also help our countrymen themselves to make a quicker, final, and unambigous choice, bearing in mind that many of them have repented for what they have done and would like to return to their native hearths, but are afraid of a criminal investigation.

At the same time, comrades, the deputies should also resolve another issue which follows logically from the amnesty act, should this be adopted. What is involved here are the former internationalist soldiers who were in Afghanistan and who committed various crimes for which they are serving a sentence in a place of incarceration. A total of 4,307 people were made criminally responsible over 10 years, mainly for selfish crimes—theft, black marketeering, smuggling. Some were found guilty of hooliganism, crimes against persons, and military breaches, including grave ones. It should be noted that they were all sentenced in complete accordance with peace-time laws, and that there were no deviations from the law or procedural simplifications in these cases. In recent years, taking into account the extenuating circumstances, the numerous appeals for these convicts to be pardoned, and the fact that many of them have already served a considerable proportion of their sentence, the USSR Procurator's Office has reopened the cases of the former Afghanistan troops, and has raised the issue of mitigating, or lifting, the sentences. As a rule, such petitions have been upheld by courts. However, more than 420 convicts out of those who served in Afghanistan are still being held in places of incarceration. We assume that the Supreme Soviet will also support the second point in the draft resolution, which charges the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with examining petitions for pardoning such people who have been convicted and are serving sentences on the territory of the Soviet Union. In this case the examination of petitions will be on an individual basis, and will be conducted according to the set procedure of pardons.

I think that consistency is resolving questions concerning the fate of the Afghanistan soldiers will serve as graphic proof of the humane intentions of our society as it moves along the road of perestroyka and democratization. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] [passage omitted] The session has now been working for almost 24 minutes since the interval. A lot of interesting things have probably happened. My colleague Igor Zorin has just come into the studio. He has been following its work over this period, and I think you have things to tell us.

[Zorin] Yes; I want to tell you that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is now in the chair; 409 deputies have registered for the evening sitting. Comrade Gorbachev proposed that the so-called Afghanistan troops issue be drawn to a close within 1 hour, and that the draft resolution on the question of an amnesty for former Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan who committed crimes and were taken prisoner by the Afghan armed opposition should be submitted for approval. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev on Miners, Transport Strike

LD0210182889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at 2 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: I want to remind you that when we began work at the present session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 25 September, in speaking about the moment [changes thought] the situation in which the USSR Supreme Soviet is resuming its activity, we noted that one of the very alarming points concerning our society, the country, and the Supreme Soviet, is the situation of our railways, the preparations for winter, and the functioning of our national economy, especially the industries which form its basis. In this context, the acute situation in Transcaucasia—where conditions which called for the adoption of urgent measures had developed—had been noted in particular.

At the time we concluded that the government was to be instructed to take the necessary measures for a change for the better, taking the real situation into account, and specifically including a change for the better in the Transcaucasia, specifically the restoration of normal functioning of the railway and the ensuring of normal transportation of cargo earmarked for Armenia.

I must say that the Supreme Soviet, the party Central Committee, and the government are continuing to receive new telegrams which have only just been received from Elektrostal, near Moscow. On behalf of the collective, the comrades say that the strike in the coal and other branches of industry, and the blockade of the railways are disrupting the work of the 10,000 strong collective of metallurgists of the Elektostal Works. There are no railcars for dispatching finished products; winter stocks of raw and other materials are not arriving; labor discipline is becoming looser; and the economy of both the works and the country is thus deteriorating. We request that in the examination of the draft law on strikes at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, you take account of the acutely negative attitude of our collective to strikes, blockades, and other extreme measures which lead to the destabilization of the internal situation in the country.

People's Deputy Soskovets writes from Temirtau, on the instructions of the work force of the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine, addressing the Supreme Soviet, the government, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and Minister of Metallurgy Kolpakov that the miners' strikes which took place and the government's resolution of the issues posed in the demands of the miners' collectives have given rise to an unequivocally negative mood on the shop floor. Incited by workers' committees, individual groups of working people are resorting to blackmail and to the expression of demands which are contrary to the laws which exist in the country. A repeat of the strikes at metallurgical enterprises is impermissible, because it will cause irremediable losses connected with the assembly units being put out of order. We consider it necessary to take decisive measures to establish order in society and in production, to adopt immediately a law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes, and to categorically ban stoppages at metallurgical production units with the continuous production cycle.

A telegram arrived just today, from Krasnoturyinsk—on 2 October. We bring to your attention the fact that the unceasing wave of the strike movement in our country exerts a substantially negative influence on the results of the economic activities of the (Bogoslovskiy) Aluminum Works, decorated with the Order of Lenin. The deliveries of bauxites have drastically been curtailed due to the strike by the miners of the Severouralskiy bauxite pit. The works was forced to process raw materials of considerably worse quality and this resulted in the uncompleted aluminum and alkali production to be curtailed. The strike by the coal miners has led to disruption of the technological processes at the enterprises of the coal by-product industry. Due to the quality of coal having gone down, the quality of the anodic stock and aluminum has suffered a lot. The plan concerning the range of output and the plan for profits, as well as the social development program are under threat of being disrupted. We ask that the elaboration and the adoption of the Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor conflicts be speeded up. It is signed by the director of the Bogoslovskiy Aluminum Works and, side by side with him, by all the representatives of public organizations.

Well, I can say here that a group of Supreme Soviet deputies today made representations—a large group—to the effect that they are very, very concerned at the continuing alarming situation in railway transport. In this context I consider it essential to return yet again to discussing this issue. Deputies, comrades [names indistinct] think likewise here. To put it more succinctly, comrades, the situation makes it imperative that we now hear the government's information on this score and the proposals that the government has.

Voronin on Economic Situation

LD0210211589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Speech by L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at 2 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] The economic situation really is complex. The sharp fall in discipline, the strikes, and interethnic conflicts have gravely deregulated the economy and brought it to a dangerous point. Allow me to simply illustrate this with several examples.

Contractual discipline continues to deteriorate. In the third quarter, 1 ½ times more industrial products failed to be delivered than in the entire first half of this year. The extraction of coal, and the production of metals based on this, has fallen. The production of mineral fertilizers and other very important product types has fallen. In June and July of this year, 4,000 consumer goods failed to be supplied in trade. Foodstuffs worth more than R1 billion failed to be supplied. A number of union republics are not fulfilling their obligations for the delivery of foodstuffs to the all-union stocks.

Strikes have caused a great loss in the country. According to the USSR State Statistical Committee, 5 million man-days of worktime have been lost due to failure to turn out for work, and over 2 million man-days are being lost in the Transcaucasian republics.

Direct production losses alone are assessed at R500 million, while indirect losses are more than R2 billion. Due to the strikes, 6,000 tonnes of coal and 2 million tonnes of coal concentrates were lost in July alone. It must be said that the coal industry has not even entered its normal rhythm at the present time, according to the results of September's work. In September the coal workers failed to deliver more than 3 million tonnes of coal, including 600,000 tonnes of coking coal.

That has placed the work of metallurgical workers practically in a critical situation. Many coking batteries are on the verge of going out of commission due to the irregular delivery of coal. Reserves of coking coal at metallurgical industry enterprises on the whole, as compared to last year, have fallen almost two-fold and run to 3 days in all. That is, the work at metallurgical plants is going practically off the wheels, although you know that we still have the winter ahead of us. The rates of accumulating coal reserves for selling to the public and for guaranteeing communal and everyday needs has fallen two-fold. A very alarming situation is taking shape with fuel reserves at thermal electric power stations. The disruption of their work may disrupt the work not just of individual enterprises and of whole sectors, but may also reflect upon the public's supply of heat and electric energy in the most ruinous way. The reserves of coal at electric power stations as of 1 October, this year as compared to last year, are 4.5 million tonnes less. Therefore, in order to get through the winter favorably, what is called for, at the minimum, is the fulfillment of the plan task for the extraction and delivery of fuel. I will not elaborate further that there is such a state of affairs with regard to other reserves of raw materials and resources.

The strike and deliberate actions to interrupt the normal working of the railroad, which have taken place and are continuing to take place in a number of regions in the country, have led to a serious shortcoming in the transportation of national economic cargo. In August and September alone, the transportation of over 36 million tonnes of produce, worth almost R11 billion in total, was not guaranteed for these reasons. Thus, many enterprises are beginning to reduce their output due to nondelivery of raw materials and component parts. At the same time, the balance of raw materials and produce which have not been delivered is growing in the manufacturers' depots.

The disorganization of the railroad transport work is also having a direct effect on the public's supply. In September alone, 300,000 tonnes of foodstuffs and 330,000 tonnes of industrial consumer goods below the plan were delivered. At maritime ports, as of the present day, over 2 million tonnes of imported cargo including grain, almost 60,000 tones of sugar, and a considerable amount of detergents and other goods and products in short supply, are stockpiled. On the railroads of Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, 130 trains with cargo are standing idle due to the strikes in Moldavia. That is, more than 6,000 wagons, mainly with foodstuffs and consumer goods. A situation of particular emergency has arisen on the Azerbaijan and Transcaucasian railroads where direct blockading of transport work, dismantling of railway lines, blowing up of bridges, and firing on trains is taking place. As a result, in August and September, 32,000 freight cars did not enter Armenia with foodstuffs, fuel, and construction materials as well, which has seriously upset the carrying out of restoration work in the earthquake zone.

The high level of crime is also seriously destabilizing the situation in the country. Finally, the practice of provinces adopting decisions to close down individual production facilities and the decommissioning of capacities are, in a number of cases, placing the national economy in a situation with no way out and are leading to the reduction of the production of produce which is in extremely short supply for the national economy.

From what has been said, it follows that if emergency measures are not taken and adopted, the situation might become even more aggravated, particularly in connection with the approach of winter. With the aim of eliminating the further development of negative processes in the economy and in the country's social and public life, the Council of Ministers has elaborated and is presenting for examination, a draft decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on emergency measures for guaranteeing the functioning of the national economy. This draft law provides for adoption in the fourth quarter of 1989 and in 1990 a number of measures of a legislative order. In particular: To avert the reduction in the volume of produce production; to guarantee the needs of the population in the first place, and also having a most important significance for the development of the national economy, forbidding, wilthout the agreement of the USSR Council of Ministers, closure of industrial enterprises or decommissioning of capacities; to immediately introduce in the Azerbaijan and Transcaucasian railroads a special form of administration, placing on the Ministry of Railways the direct management of these roads, on the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Defense, and Ministry of Railways the protection of installations vital to the guaranteed operation of the railroads, bridges, and tunnels, as well a guaranteeing the safety of work by transport workers and citizens; and to forbid the organization and implementation of strikes in that period and enterprises and organizations of all sectors of the national economy. A number of concrete measures are envisaged guaranteeing all necessary preparations of national economy for work in winter conditions. The Council of Ministers, comrade deputies, asks you comrade deputies, to examine and adopt the proposed measures.

Voronin Proposes Ban on Strikes

LD0210193289 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 2 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The complex situation in the Soviet economy has become the topic of a sharp debate at the USSR Supreme Soviet today. Speaking at the beginning of the evening meeting, Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said that the economic situation in the Soviet Union requires urgent measures for its stabilisation.

A sharp slackening of discipline, strikes and inter-ethnic conflicts seriously affected the state of the Soviet economy, Voronin said.

The output of coal, metals, mineral fertilizers and other important products has fallen. A number of republics failed to fulfil their obligations for food supply.

Consumer goods worth four billion roubles have not been supplied in July and August this year. The alarming state of the fuel supply at the thermal power stations could have a serious impact on supplying the population with heat and electricity, on the functioning of whole industries.

Voronin noted that strikes and deliberate disruptions of rail service have upset the transportation of cargo and had an adverse affect on the functioning of many enterprises.

An emergency situation has developed in Trans-Caucasia. Transport is blocked, bridges are exploded, railways are ripped apart. The high crime rate also has a serious destabilising effect on the country.

Voronin said that in order to prevent further worsening of the situation the government submits for the consideration of the USSR Supreme Soviet its draft resolution on extraordinary measures to ensure the functioning of the national economy in the 15 months ahead.

The document, specifically, proposes a ban on strikes in every industry over this period. Measures are proposed to prevent a decrease in the output of products that are important for the development of the national economy.

It is also proposed to introduce immediately a special form of management of the Transcaucasian and Azerbaijan railways. The USSR Ministry of Railways, Ministry of Defence and Interior Ministry will be responsible for the protection of railways and transportation workers.

During a debate that lasted for almost two hours, the deputies expressed differing, at times contradictory opinions, about the ways to overcome negative tendencies in the country's economy.

Summing up the results of the debate, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that plans for the country's development next year are in jeopardy and said the government's proposals should be supported.

The Soviet president emphasized particularly that the adoption of extraordinary measures does not mean an attempt to arrest the processes taking place in the framework of perestroyka. He said these are forced measures aimed at protecting democratisation against anarchy and mismanagement.

Gorbachev urged parliamentary committees and commissions to thoroughly analyse the government's proposals and opinions expressed by deputies so that the USSR Supreme Soviet would be able to adopt an appropriate resolution tomorrow. The proposal was passed by the overwhelming majority of votes.

Soviet parliament will continue its work tomorrow.

Ban Proposal Agreed Upon

AU0210162689 Paris AFP in English 1618 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 2 (AFP)—The Soviet parliament Monday voted a temporary ban on strike action in the Soviet Union, an AFP correspondent at the Supreme Soviet session said.

The deputies voted on a motion outlined by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev with 374 in favour, eight against and four abstentions.

The parliament instructed parliamentary commissions to draw up a law which would be approved by the deputies on Tuesday.

Legislation Pends 3 Oct Vote

AU0210164689 Paris AFP in English 1627 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 2 (AFP)—The Soviet parliament Monday approved the principle of a special decree which would outlaw all strikes in the Soviet Union for the next 15 months.

The move, approved by 374 votes to 8, with 4 abstentions, comes against a background of growing ethnic unrest which has severely disrupted the economy, notably rail services in the south of the country.

President Mikhail Gorbachev warned parliament that the economic situation was fast "running out of control".

Urgent measures are needed to redress the situation as "every day that passes brings about further terrible consequences," he said.

The special decree, proposed in the absence of strike legislation which has yet to come before parliament, would come into force immediately and apply until the end of 1990, First Deputy Premier Lev Voronin told the Supreme Soviet.

The decree is to be put to a final vote Tuesday following all-night committee work on its drafting, parliamentary sources said.

Gorbachev Closes Morning Session

LD0310152289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1403 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Remarks by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium at the close of the 2 October morning session of the Supreme Soviet session in the Moscow Kremlin, prior to the vote preceding the recess—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, Let's get together on this. Perhaps, given the experience we have gained this session, we will do it this way: Those comrades who have any questions can submit them to Comrade Ryzhkov in written form. He can mull them over and then we'll find some time for him to respond. How about that, comrades? [shouts in hall] Is that acceptable? [Shouts of yes] That's acceptable, then.

Now, here's what we've got to consult on: What is to be the nature of our decisions? We are not talking about the acceptance or approval at the first reading. We must take the decision to accept them for examination—all these drafts—in committees, and then for subsequent discussion at the Supreme Soviet session. But these documents were presented by Comrade Ryzhkov on behalf of the government some time earlier, and the deputies are in possession of them. As I see it, there has already been some discussion, so to speak,—debates—in the commitees and commissions. And comrades—I mean Comrade Vologzhin, Comrade Alekseyev, Comrade Bunich and Comrade Sobchak—have had a preliminary discussion—and in this instance I use this word in a good sense—and have requested of the Presidium that, after the Council of Ministers report, they might be offered the floor. I do not think that contradicts the fact that we are not now going to discuss things, but only adopt them for examination.

Inasmuch as you are all conversant, then it should be possible, on behalf of the committees and commissions that were specifically concerned with the examination, to give the floor to the comrades. But not begin the debates for the time being. [clamor in the hall] Because all the work is ahead of us. But probably what the comrades want to say is of relevance to what the deputies would have in mind—their points of view and thoughts, which could then be taken into consideration in the subsequent...[changes thought]...when there is a more detailed elaboration of each law, and of the main provisions of these bills. If that approach is acceptable, comrades, then we could move on to offering the floor to those comrades mentioned earlier. But for the time being not to open the debate, since the work ought to continue for a while yet. How's that, comrades? [shouts in hall] The reason I'm clarifying this is that some comrades have already submitted notes asking to speak. I do not think this means that they cannot resume later and speak. But for the time being we could do it that way. In that case, I would ask you to vote, comrades, since the issue is a fundamental one. Who favors adopting this procedure, and restricting ourselves today to the speeches of those comrades named? Plase cast your votes.

Supreme Soviet Session Resumes 3 Oct

LD0310075689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0725 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, October [dateline as received]. TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin.

The joint sitting of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet began today with the discussion of the second reading of the draft law on the procedure for resolving labour disputes (conflicts). This document has already been examined in parliament this summer, after which it was sent for final elaboration [dorabotka] to the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev opened the morning session.

As is expected, the deputies will also have to examine the draft decision presented by the USSR Government, on emergency measures for guaranteeing the work of the country's national economy in the next 15 months. At yesterday's evening session the Soviet parliament heard the report of First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Lev Voronin on the economic situation in the country.

Strike Ban Proposal Overturned

LD0310104589 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Members of the Supreme Soviet are discussing emergency measures to normalise the situation on the country's railways and in vital industries, and to prevent strikes and work stoppages. Mikhail Gorbachev, who presided at the meeting, said the emergency package was needed immediately while the proposed law on strikes could be adopted later. MPs [Members of Parliament] decided against banning all strikes for the next 15 months as was proposed by the government.

Aleksandr (?Denisov) a deputy from Leningrad blamed the government for the desperate situation on the railways and said the government should not shift its responsibility on MPs. He advocated tough measures to introduce order on the railways, including the use of specialised Army railway units to ensure nonstop operation.

Gorbachev on Azerbaijan Strike

LD0310152189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Report by correspondent Marina Novitskaya from the Supreme Soviet session on 3 October in the Kremlin]

[Text] I remind you that the acute situation that has developed in Azerbaijan and Armenia is of course connected with the interethnic conflicts. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed his viewpoint in the course of the discussion. Please switch on the recording.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] In connection with the situation, circumstances, and atmosphere that have now developed in our Supreme Soviet in the discussion of this issue, I want to voice three thoughts.

The first is that we should be very responsible in our speeches and our assessments. Yesterday, when accusations against an entire republic and people were heard in some speeches, I think that that is not the right path, because we can talk about those forces, all the more so since they really exist and that it is simply a fierce powerstruggle that is taking place. Some people are bursting—using everything, even throwing and pushing people forward, without reckoning with the fate of the people—just to achieve their own ends, so to speak. For this reason I believe that however we come back to it later, we must, after all, draw the lessons. We are still only just restoring justice for those peoples against whom illegal acts were committed. Just as we are emerging from that situation, we are nevertheless failing to draw the full lessons from this.

We must be very careful. I believe that we do not have at our disposal, and I do not believe anyone has any information so that we could make accusations against an entire people, republic, okrug, autonomous unit, and so forth at our Supreme Soviet today. That is the first point. It seems to me that I want to say this to you, share it with you, so there should be comprehension of this among us, nevertheless.

Second, we are talking about how such a decision is necessary for the country, and you, the deputies, have all the necessary information about this, or at least much, if not all the information, which attests to the fact that the country needs the Supreme Soviet to express itself in favor today of resolutely putting right all that has been committed with regard to weakening the management of the economy. We have to do this. We can also take such a road today, this is the business of the Supreme Soviet, but let's think about it. Yesterday the comrades raised this matter, and in general, they were right to raise it.

At the present time when we are saying that measures are needed, moreover, of an emergency nature, then at the same time we also have to speak of the causes. I believe that the task of the Supreme Soviet does not now lie in our finding a scapegoat, so to speak, although all matters have to be raised. If we ignore the fact that the situation has been stirred up and is being stirred up in individual regions, which is in point of fact disrupting the work of enterprises, transport, and other communications, and that some stir things up and we pretend that all this is indeed a manifestation of supreme democracy, and at the same time blame is placed, saying that in these conditions the government did not nevertheless ensure that things worked, or that the republic even didn't ensure that things worked, then this is also a dangerous road. So, some have the right to stir things up and place in question that someome is able to manage. Think about all of this.

We can conduct such a discussion, and then we can, maybe, conduct a separate session.

At present, I think, the situation is clear. We can see that we can lose our grip on management of the national economy. Destabilization has manifested itself in the most unsightly form, with serious human consequences, in Transcaucasia, and has specifically taken its toll on Armenia—we can see all of this, comrades. It seems to me like this, that the current Supreme Soviet, having assessed this situation, should get down to securing by an adopted decision the sort of prerequisites that might create the possibility for the government to fulfill its commitments. That's the first thing.

Third, where the government encounters the kind of difficulties that fall outside the norm and nonetheless there are tasks to be dealt with, we must give the government the rights to fully use all possibilities so that our economy—first and foremost, as we have said, transport (?and) power engineering, on which a great deal depends—nevertheless functions normally. I also believe that we should include in our decision that in literally a specific number of days, say 5 days, everything should be back to normal on the railways in Transcaucasus. To this end the government should make use of all the powers given to it by the Supreme Soviet. I consider it my duty to say this. [end recording]

The discussion continued. It is a very difficult issue, and there essentially was a joint search for the necessary formulations and specific measures.

Political & Social

Lithuanian Deputies' Statement Given to Gorbachev

LD0210235189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Today, the USSR people's deputies for Lithuania issued a statement that once again lodges strong protest against the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee statement on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics. Signed by 40 people's deputies out of 52, the document was circulated by the Lithuanian News Agency [LTA]. Just like other statements of this kind, it contains reproaches to the notorious Central Committee document for hushing up well-known historic facts, misinformation of public at large, and threats launched against Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The issue of Lithuania, like that of the other two Baltic states, should be taken up, and everybody is unanimous on this, reads the statement. Fully awake to the threat facing the Soviet Union's prestige and honor, we suggest peaceful parliamentary means. Solving the Baltic issue in a democratic way would be the weightest contribution made by the Soviet Union to a marked improvement of international climate.

We maintain, reads the statement of the Lithuanian deputies, that the first step in this direction has already been taken. Economic self-dependence of the three republics is being debated. It is hoped that the Soviet Government and people's deputies will be resolute enough to thwart the attempts of the bureaucratic center to suspend the matter by numerous stipualtions. The Lithuanian deputies declare that the Baltic problem should be addressed only by direct talks of the parties concerned in keeping with international law, principle of equality, and by repelling threats. The talks should focus on a multitude of issues concerning both sides: The essence, form and duration of the treaties signed by Lithuania and the Soviet Union, the status of the Soviet Armed Forces stationed on Lithuanian soil, duration of stationing, the type of armaments and their quantity, use of the Baltic ports and mutual privileges, as well as communication, commerical, financial, humanitarian and other aspects.

This is the (?one) point of the statement. The other deals with a most important subject. The statement underlines that the Lithuanian deputies are not authorized to hold talks on one of the most prominent problems: self-dependence or no self-dependence. This can be decided only by referendum of the three nations. We are deeply convinced, says the statement, that our people will be all for good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. This would be a just act, beneficial for all.

The closing part of the document suggests making the statement public in the All-Union press media. That would be the first step in solving the Baltic issue and creating in the country a favorable atmosphere of openness, so essential for processes of genuine democracy.

So much about the statement itself. Signed yesterday by 40 people's deputies for Lithuania, earlier today it was handed in to the Soviet president and Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev during the Soviet parliamentary session now meeting in Moscow. So far we know nothing of the response it evoked. Judging from TASS reports on today's parliamentary sittings, the statement of the Lithuanian deputies has not been made public.

Lithuanian Party Will 'Probably Secede' From CPSU

AU0210205789 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Mathias Pongratz report on news conference by Virgil Cepaytis, general secretary of Sajudis, the Lithuanian restructuring movement, in Vienna on 2 October; statement by Cepaytis in Lithuanian with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] The Communist Party of Lithuania will most probably secede from the CPSU at its forthcoming special party congress in December. This was announced by Virgil Cepaytis, general secretary of Sajudis, which translates as popular movement for the support of perestroyka, and which is currently probably the most powerful organization in Lithuania.

The Communist Party of Lithuania has drawn its conclusion from the disastrous election defeat in March, in which the Lithuanian Communists won only 6 of 42 seats in the Congress of People's Deputies, Cepaytis said, adding that the Lithuanian Communist Party was defeated because it advocated that Lithuania remain within the USSR.

When asked why the Lithuanian Communist Party wants to secede from the CPSU, Algirdas Brazauskas, head of the Lithuanian Communist Party, told the British news agency REUTER that there is no other way to reestablish the political authority of the Lithuanian Communists. The situation of Lithuania and Moscow's reaction particularly depend on Sajudis, Brazauskas said.

However, despite sharp warnings from Moscow, Sajudis has embarked on a path toward complete independence from the USSR. A decision in this respect is to be sought in a referendum, Cepaytis, general secretary of Sajudis, said. This is how he describes the legal situation of Lithuania:

[Begin Cepaytis recording] The fact is that from a purely legal point of view, we are not on Soviet territory, because we were occupied and annexed, and thus one cannot discuss leaving the USSR, but only joining the USSR. [end recording]

Further Incidents at Nagorno-Karabakh Reported

PM0310101189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "On Events in Nagorno-Karabakh": "Path Into the Abyss"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 2 Oct—Reports from the Special Region Commandant's Office and the Internal Affairs Administration of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] over the past 24 hours resemble messages from a theater of military operations. Every line attests to a new surge of tension and indicates a further exacerbation of the situation.

At 1055 the Ibragimov brothers, 11 and 9 years old, were brought to Agdam Central Rayon Hospital from Stepanakert City's Kirkidzhan Settlement with shotgun injuries. Their father said that they received the injuries in the yard of the house.

At 1430 a crowd of Armenians 1,000 strong started throwing stones near the village of Magavuz in Mardakertskiy Rayon and prevented the passage of a convoy of Azerbaijani vehicles under a military escort.

At 1605 O.S. Zhikhor (born in 1962), a construction worker from the Moscow Oblast city of Naro-Fominsk sent to the NKAO to install equipment in a gas compressor station, was taken to the oblast hospital from the village of Gasanabad in Askeranskiy Rayon with a serious gunshot injury. He was operated on and given a transfusion of blood taken from 10 servicemen.

At 1700 a group of Azerbaijanis began throwing stones at a car in the village of Tug in Gadrutskiy Rayon. The driver and passengers suffered bodily harm.

At approximately 1900 shots in the direction of the Armenian settlement of Yekhtsakhog in Shushinskiy Rayon were recorded.

At 2210 a vehicle carrying servicemen patrolling the road was fired upon with a hunting gun in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's Fizulinskiy Rayon.

Between 2300 and 2400 there was an active exchange of fire between Azerbaijanis and Armenians in Gadrutskiy Rayon. A troop subunit was sent to the scene of the incident, and on its arrival the shooting stopped.

All these cases are being investigated, and criminal proceedings have been instituted with regard to some of them. It is obvious, however, that the new deterioration in the situation has been brought about by those forces which are seeking to wreck the parliamentary examination of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Where does this path lead? ...to the abyss of bloodshed in a fratricidal war whose victims will mainly be women, children, and old people.

The interethnic conflict in the region has distorted beyond recognition the life of the population, which has found itself in an atmosphere of tension and fear for almost 2 years. People transfer interethnic strife and hostility even to inanimate objects. A second train carrying national economic freight arrived in Stepanakert yesterday after the 3-week blockade of the city organized on the Azerbaijan Railroad by the people's front. The majority of the cars and a considerable proportion of the freight had been damaged, and property had been smashed.

Seeking to normalize the situation, the Special Administration Committee and the commandant's office are holding meetings with the party and soviet aktiv and labor collectives and urging both sides to see reason. The most important task today is to intercept the hand poised to strike and to restrain the two peoples from the last step into the abyss.

1,000 Armenians Block Convoy

LD0310090589 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Soviet news agency TASS reports there was further escalation of tension in Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region populated mostly by Armenians on the territory of Azerbaijan.

A group of Armenians, 1,000 people strong, prevented a convoy of vehicles driven by Azerbaijanis and escort [as heard] by troops from entering Magavuz village. The convoy was pelted with stones.

Late at night there was a shootout between rival groups of Azerbaijanis and Armenians in Gadrut district. Wounded among both ethnic groups keep pouring into hospitals, most of them with shotgun wounds.

The emergency committee of direct rule exercising power in Nargono-Karabakh is conducting intensive negotiations with rival factions.

Rail Situation 'Catastrophic'

LD0210152389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] A serious situation has formed on the Northern Caucasian railway. Nikolay Chebatarev reports on the situation today.

[Chebatarev] On the Northern Caucasian track a really catastrophic situation has arisen. The railway is suffering enormous losses owing to the idleness of freight trains. Now I will switch on a tape recording I made in the railway administration traffic communications center.

Vladimir Grigoryevich Tutikov, the deputy chief of the Northern Caucasian railway, reports:

[Begin Tutikov recording] The events on the Azeri railway have seriously affected the work of the Northern Caucasian railway. Thus, from 4 to 11 September, when there were no freight trains at all across the junction [word indistinct] traffic, we lost about R50 million. We already presented a bill for R4,618,000 to the Azeri Council of Ministers as order was brought to the republic. Well, and since train traffic started it has not been going at full volume. Goods for Armenia are not accepted. Bulk oil cargoes and food are not accepted for the Georgian republic. Instead of passing 65-70 trains across the junction, we passed 27 yesterday. Today, during the night we only took 13 trains. On the track, 194 trains have been left without engines at intermediate stations. This out of a total of 19,000 train cars for these three republics.

In connection with the fact that the People's Front of Azerbaijan has forbidden engine drivers to accept trains with food and bulk oil cargoes, we are forced to uncouple them from correct, ready, assembled trains. The train loaders and drivers of the shunting engines are exasperated bv this work and...well, it is superfluous, unpaid work. The drivers of the Derbent [in Dagestan] locomotive depot at a conference called on the Azeri railwaymen to put things in order and begin work, since they are left unpaid. But so far there is no answer and the situation remains difficult.

We believe that for September we will be able to claim about R15 million from the Azeri Council of Ministers. This is 30 percent of the wages we pay to the railway workers. We urgently request the USSR Supreme Soviet session look at this issue as quickly as possible and adopt a decision whereby railwaymen must work in any conditions, regardless of who clarifies their relations with whom. [end recording]

[Chebatarev] The goods in the train cars are quite varied. There are construction materials, prefabricated huts for Armenia, Food, oil products, machines, and equipment. People are waiting for these trains not only in Armenia but also in Georgia, and even in Azerbaijan. But, you see, the real losses are much higher. They will add up from delays for builders, industrial enterprises, and for vehicular transportation in the Caucasian republics, which have not received goods on time. There is no way you can measure the moral loss. After all, the whole world stretched out its hand to those who suffered in Armenia and someone has decided to strike this hand. This is how I personally assess the action of the People's Front of Azerbaijan. And Vladimir Grigoryevich Tutikov is right—it is time for the representatives of our supreme power to intervene in this situation.

Consequences of Economic Blocade Discussed

PM0310100389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[S. Taranov report: "Press Conference: The Railroad Must Work"]

[Text] The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] permanent mission in Moscow has held a news conference involving USSR People's Deputies. The theme of the discussion was the consequences of the economic blockade of the republic.

Some 85 percent of the freight destined for Armenia from the rest of the country travels by rail through Azerbaijan. Since 21 July movement along the line has virtually ceased. In September alone more than 1.5 million tonnes of freight, 60 percent of which was bound for regions affected by the earthquake, failed to reach its destination.

Addressing the press conference, USSR People's Deputies S. Ambartsumyan, G. Igityan, S. Sarkisyan, and L. Arutyunyan reported that most enterprises in Armenia now have either fully or partially stopped work. The shortfall of industrial output has reached R200 million and contractual commitments with thousands of subcontractors from other republics have not been met.

The fuel situation is worst of all. Virtually all the republic's road transport has stopped and there isn't enough gasoline for emergency service vehicles or the transport of food. The trade system has failed to receive goods and produce worth R110 million, while on the railroads outside the republic 5,000 tonnes of potatoes, the same amount of cucurbits, 3,000 tonnes of flour, 2,600 tonnes of meat, and 5,000 tonnes of oil are standing and rotting. Armenia, in turn, was unable to supply the all-union funds with 2,850 tonnes of fruit, 2,500 tonnes of grapes, and 3,600 tonnes of vegetables. The lack of gasoline has meant that around 90,000 tonnes of agricultural produce could not be purchased from the population.

Winter is drawing nigh and all the plans for housing construction in the earthquake zone are behind schedule. Construction workers simply have no work to do. More than 20,000 of them have had to go home. There is a real danger that this winter, too, thousands of people left homeless will be living under canvas...

At the press conference, a resolution was read out in which the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet called, among other things, for a dialogue at the level of soviet and party organs and social organizations in Armenia and Azerbaijan with the aim of stabilizing the situation in the region and restoring the good-neighborly relations between the two neighboring peoples. But in the deputies' opinion, there should be no linkage between that dialogue and the work of the railroad. This question cannot at all be an object of discussion or a means of exerting strong-arm pressure. The railroad must go on working under all circumstances.

From the latest reports. From 21-28 September, Armenia failed to receive 500 more tonnes of freight. Among the several trains which entered the republic from Azerbaijan there wasn't a single tank car of fuel. The freight cars contained sand, fairly wet (and thus unusable) cement, and produce spoiled by the long journey.

Blockade's Form 'Changed'

NC0210104589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 1 Oct 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] According to the papers, rail services into Armenia have resumed in the last few days. However, the railroad cars loaded with food and fuel are still not reaching their destination. It must be pointed out that the Azeri railwaymen are intentionally decoupling these cars from the trains, fully knowing this might cause the republic's economy to disintegrate. The policy of the (?cadres) to coerce Armenia by force is actually continuing. The blockade is continuing; only the form of it has changed.

Blockade's Effect on Earthquake Zone

PM0210123989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy: "Armenia: What Blockade 'Parity' Is Costing"]

[Text] These are the last fine days in the earthquake zone. Just weeks will pass by and the first scattering of snow will appear in the high mountains of Armenia, indeed even now you can feel a slight frost in Leninakan in the mornings.

It would seem that only recently a group of officers and I attended the opening of the first school in the destroyed city. The smiles on the children's faces, the businesslike bustle of the nearby construction sites, automobiles carrying freight causing traffic jams on the streets.

Today people in Leninakan do not feel like smiling. There is nothing to transport, the majority of vehicles are without gasoline. All around are the drooping heads of the cranes, the incomplete remains of prefabricated houses. Tens and hundreds of construction workers are packing their cases because the people who have come from all over the country have neither the time nor the patience to wait for the two republics to agree on normal relations and normal dynamics for shipments.

I looked at the cheerless panorama of halted construction in Leninakan and returned mentally to the words uttered recently by a deputy from Azerbaijan from the rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet session: He said that the blockade is of a mutual nature and that there is no reason to blame just one republic for it. It would be possible to accept the hint of wounded dignity in the woman's voice, it might be possible to recall calmly that the principle "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" is a legacy of the middle ages. But then how, what words to use, to explain to the state and party men that this is no longer the time for polemics and mutual recriminations, that the situation in the earthquake zone is coming closer to the critical point with every passing day, that in our country the railroad is not private property and that the freight which has accumulated on one side of the bank does not belong to just one of the union republics?

But who has taken up his pen now and made public the economic losses from the blockade? So far, unfortunately, only those who have found themselves in the position of unemployed people in this region. I shall cite a few lightning interviews which will help readers to assess the real situation.

A. Illarionov, driver:

"I work in Aragatskiy Rayon, high in the mountains. Rain and hail are already lashing down here. What can you say to people if you are powerless to help them? We are sitting without freight, and the gasoline which is in such acutely short supply has been diluted with water."

A. Tunikov, chief engineer of a mobile mechanized column:

"We have literally bombarded the party organs, the government, and the leadership of the republics with telegrams, but things have not changed. We cannot believe that this is a Soviet railroad we are talking about. The houses are standing unfinished, essentially they are only walls, and it is not only construction materials but also food that is lacking. Yet winter is just around the corner."

S. Ramazyan, director of a furniture components combine:

"You must understand that we concluded a contract on a joint venture with the Italians. We paid R5 million in currency to a firm which over the course of a year should help us manufacture 300,000 windows. The installation workers will arrive shortly and we have even written a poster saying 'welcome' in Italian, but how can we welcome them? Back on 5 August freight arrived for us—2,700 cubic meters of wood laminate. And all this is in Azerbaijan to this day...."

These people also imparted their concerns in a program shown on Armenian television recently. Of course, not only they but other specialists from many parts of the country. Similar items are being broadcast daily right now. I have no doubt that in Azerbaijan, too, there is something to show from the sphere of the real losses caused by the mutual intransigence of the participants in this unprecedented blockade. Apart from all the rest I asked a competent military man whether such a tense situation is not threatening the supplies for servicemen of the Yerevan garrison and, of course, those who are working in the earthquake zone.

"So far there is no real threat, we are managing with spare parts," rear officer A. Filippov said. "But there are stoppages as far as white bread is concerned because high-grade flour comes from a civilian organization and that organization has its supply problems now. We have procured the full volume of vegetables and we have no worries there either but the range of groats, for instance, has become somewhat more meager, for the same reasons. Now for the construction sphere. The cement intended for us—hundreds of cars—is to this day on the railroads in Azerbaijan. The military construction workers in the earthquake zone are literally attacking us and we are sending telegrams to people higher up. But we can give no real assistance."

So how much is the blockade "parity" costing? Perhaps before undertaking such uncivilized forms of explaining interethnic relations, one should calculate where this will lead? Although far from everything can be calculated... For instance, what is the price of the gaze of the child who looked out in the morning in Leninakan from inside a tent wet with dew and smiled shyly at me, seeing reassurance and hope in a military man? You need nerves of iron to look into the children's eyes in the earthquake zone today. And what is the cost of the rejected laws of kindness and charity together with other virtues flouted by the blockade?

Yesterday I returned to Yerevan. Outwardly the situation in the city is calm, and all enterprises and transport are operating. The railroad is coming to life—22 echelons with construction materials have already arrived. But.... There is one serious "but"—the cement in the cars has been flooded with water.... Food and fuel are still not arriving. The republic's government is deciding the question of introducing a ration card system for food.

Another example is also infectious, so to speak: In Armenia, too, cases of illegal actions against Soviet Army servicemen are already being noted. Here is what happened at the Yerevan meat combine. A vehicle arrived here from Nakhichevan garrison to obtain food. But it was refused. Moreover, the truck tires were punctured and slashed—allegedly in revenge for the fact that the military subunits are taking no steps to lift the blockade on the republic.

And the blockade is essentially continuing. In the regions of Azerbaijan adjacent to Armenia I saw pickets on the roads consisting of local militia and representatives of the People's Front. The hastily erected barrier is not opened to everyone. You can be stopped here and turned back and even beaten up... Even worse happens—in Yeraskh, for instance, a truck carrying internal troops officers was fired on. Luckily no one was hurt...

This is, so to speak, the postscript to blockade "parity...." As we can see, normalization is still a long way off....

Commentary on Azerbaijan Economic Blockade

LD0210110889 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Commentary by Vladimir Nazaryan, republican procurator of the Armenian SSR]

[Text] As we have been reporting to you frequently of late, the economic blockade of Armenia by neighboring Azerbaijan continues. Vladimir Ghazaryan, the republican procurator, responding to persistent questioning by deputies in this connection at the 10th extraordinary session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, raised the question of the necessity of the economic responsibility of the neighboring republic for the damage caused to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] through a railways and highway blockade.

In this connection, a correspondent of ours has applied to Nazaryan, doctor of legal sciences and republican prosecutor, to elaborate or expand on the proposed notion at the session. Here are his comments:

Unfortunately, a phenomenon like blockading the movement of goods is not confined to our region alone. Recently, the central mass media reported a blockading of tobacco from Bulgaria. But the economic blockading of the Armenian republic is of a general and protracted nature, causing huge damage to the national economy of the entire republic and—what is particulary immoral—depriving the construction workers who have come from the various regions of our country of the opportunity of healing the wounds caused by the earthquake, as a result of which there are now over half a million people homeless.

In view of the importance of this crucial problem, the Procurator's Office of the republic has prepared a USSR draft law entitled "On Economic Responsibility of one Union Republic for Damage Caused to Another Union Republic." In drawing up this bill, we have based ourselves on the fact that one of the most important requirements for the shaping of the economic foundations of a socialist state based on the rule of law is the creation of the legal basis necessary for the economic autonomy of union and autonomous republics, their transfer to full economic accounting, self-financing, and self-funding. Under a socialist and federative state, this presupposes that union and autonomous republics—as subjects of economic relations—must, at the same time as benefitting from extensive economic rights, shoulder commensurate economic obligations.

The economic responsibility of union republics may arise from agreements between them as well as from economic damage caused to one union republic by the state bodies, officials, establishments and enterprises, statewide organizations, or citizens of another union republic

For one union republic to hold another responsible for the economic damage caused by its state bodies, officials, establishments and enterprises, public organizations, or citizens is the most important aspect of respecting its sovereignty.

The platform of the CPSU Central Committee on the party's nationalities policy notes that, within the framework of a federative state based on the rule of law, machinery is to be established to settle disputes that may arise between the authorities and administrative bodies of the Soviet Union and the Union Republics as well as between union republics and other state, national, or national-territorial formations.

There is in operation in our country an institution for the material responsibility of the state for damage caused as a result of illegal acts by state bodies or officials. The essence of this democratic institution lies in the right possessed by the citizens of the Soviet Union to seek compensation through the courts for material damage caused to them by the illegal acts of state bodies or officials. We believe that the juridical machinery of this institution can be used—with some modification—in the settlement of disputes connected with the economic responsibilities of union republics. It is necessary to reserve the right for the USSR Supreme Court to adopt and—where justified—to satisfy the requests submitted by union republics in connection with economic damage inflicted by the state bodies, officials, estabishments and enterprises, public organizations, and citizens of another. Of course, the union republics must be entitled to regressive rights against the subjects responsible for the damage caused.

As sovereign states, union republics are subject to international law; therefore, not only the law on economic responsibility but also the fundamental norms and principles of international law must lie at the foundations of their economic responsibility. In particular, it is incumbent upon the union republics to be guided by the provisions of the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States which was adopted by the 29th session of the UN General Assembly in 1974 and whose Article 32 says: No state may apply or incite economic, political, or any other kind of mandatory sanctions against another state aimed at the violation of the latters' sovereign rights or at wresting such rights from it.

Any transgression against this provision must be viewed not only as a violation of the rights and interests of the given union republic alone but also as an act harming the economic interests of the Soviet Union and—overall—touching upon the authority of the state.

The economic responsibility of union republics is a new legal phenomenon brought into being by revolutionary perestroyka. It is necessary from this viewpoint to reserve for the union republics the right to sign agreements with each otner on economic responsibility.

The bill we have drawn up will be sent from the Armenian Republic to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union.

Azerbaijani Mob Kills Investigators

PM0210093189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent V. Rudenko report under rubric "On Events in Nagorno-Karabakh": "'Black Tulip' from Agdam"]

[Text] Stepanakert—Quite recently we abandoned the painful duty of meeting the "black tulip"—the aircraft carrying the coffins of those who were killed in Afghanistan—and today the "black tulip" is carrying a sad cargo from the Transcaucasus. The tragedy in Agdamskiy Rayon, where two workers of the operational investigation group of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, a Russian and a Moldavian, were killed at the hands of a wild mob, has captured the attention of the Azerbaijani press. However, these events have been reported in a tendentious and distorted way, as Colonel V.A. Skorobogatov, chief of the political branch of the special region command, stated.

"This is what actually happened," he explained. "On 18 September a convoy carrying provisions and fuel for Mardakertskiy Rayon in the blockaded oblast left Stepankert with a military escort. In front was a small mobile group. At 1345 hours it reported that at the crossroads near Agdam the road had been blocked with stones and a crowd of about 200 people was waiting for the convoy to approach. The convoy immediately changed its route and successfully reached its destination by going the long way around, and two platoons and three armored personnel carriers were sent to the assistance of the mobile group. They started clearing the route. However, the growing crowd threw stones and petrol bombs at the servicemen. The hooligans knocked down one of the servicemen as they tried to seize his weapon. Bearing in mind the growing direct threat to the lives and health of his subordinates, Senior Lieutenant T. fired a round of machinegun fire into the air. This slightly sobered the crowd of 1,500. It retreated, demanding that the officer who had fired be given up and stated that people had been wounded by his shots.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs operational investigation group which soon arrived collected material evidence of the attack on the servicemen—the remains of a used explosive, and fragments of petrol bomb bottles—and also took photographs of the area. Having finished their work, the investigators left the scene of the incident, but their vehicle was stopped by an overexcited crowd at the crossroads. Although they showed their documents, they were dragged out of the militia vehicle and beaten mercilessly. Senior Lieutenant Andrey Tyugayev was mortally wounded in the chest, and Lieutenant Sergey Gaba was stabbed in the liver and died in a hospital a few hours later. Two other workers from the operational investigation group were injured in varying degrees of seriousness, and the driver was also injured. The wild mob overturned the vehicle, stole weapons and documents from the three militia workers, and the material evidence from the trunk.

"That is the outline of the events," V.A. Skorobogabov continues. "But articles in the Azerbaijani mass media changed the emphasis and the truth was distorted. Contrary to their assertions, the leadership of Agdamskiy Rayon was informed by the commander of the special region, Major General V. Safonov, that the convoy was about to to pass through. The crowd which blocked off the road did not behave nearly as peacefully as has been represented. The operational investigation group was represented by the Azerbaijani journalists as practically the instigators of the conflict and the blame for the death of the operational group members was placed... on the group members themselves. Nor can the report about the citizens in the crowd allegedly being wounded by machinegun fire be confirmed. Azerbaijani People's Front activists did everything they could to stop army doctors from getting to the "wounded" people to examine them. And this was not by chance: The results of the examination disprove the version put forward by the republican press with the connivance of officials—N. Yusifov, the republic's deputy minister of internal affairs; A. Kuliyev, first secretary of Agdamskiy Rayon party committee; and I. Pashayev, chief of the rayon branch of the militia.

Immediatedly after the incident, the commanders of the special region asked the military prosecutor's office in Kirovabad in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic to send a representative to investigate the use of weapons here. Three people of Azerbaijani nationality were detained on suspicion of murdering the operational group members.

"There is no doubt that People's Front activists and some local leaders are not interested in carrying out an impartial and objective investigation," V.A. Skorobogatov stressed. "After all, it will reveal their unsavory role in fuelling passions and show the true worth of each person's words and deeds. There is another reason why some people are trying to hide and distort the truth. Since the provocative demands to withdraw from the region the internal troops—which are the only ones still keeping in check the flames of interethnic slaughter—have not achieved their end, the provocateurs and extremists are trying to cast a shadow on the servicemen and arouse distrust and hatred in the people toward them. The story about the 'wounded' people, which was mentioned in all the Azerbaijani newspapers, like the loose and tendentious interpretation of the events at Agdam, is grist for the mill of nationalism and prevents conciliation in the region. The tragedy did not take place by chance. It was born of the existing hysterical situation in interethnic relations.

Ukraine's Shevchenko Stresses Discipline

PM1909174189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 2 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[Article by Valentina Shevchenko, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR People's Deputy: "Democratization Means Self-discipline, Organization, and Responsibility"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] It is natural that the draft laws on amendments and additions to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and on elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and elections to local soviets, which have been submitted for nationwide discussion, are currently at the focus of attention of party and soviet organs, the press, social organizations, and all the republic's working people. The numerous reactions, proposals, and observations, which are arriving at the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, party committees, and local soviet executive committees [ispolkoms] and being published in the press, testify that the public's interest in these documents is extraordinarily high. It must be said that the republic Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commission and its working group which compiled the draft laws foresaw this to a considerable extent. During the elaboration of the drafts account was taken of both the strong and the weak points of the new union legislation on elections and of the results of a preliminary analysis and comparison of the opinions of party committees, soviet organs, scientific institutions, the public at large and its various movements, and press publications.

At the same time, the drafts prompt reflection on specific provisions of the laws and make it possible for the republic's citizens to discuss them from all angles, express their views on them, and submit their suggestions to specific articles. In this way the democratic procedure of the debate itself largely contributes to the enhancement of people's political activeness, adding to their legal knowledge, and developing democracy and glasnost. In this context it is impossible to ignore the "unorthodox" stance of a group of USSR people's deputies (O. Gonchar, V. Grishchuk, V. Chernyak, Yu. Shcherbak, and V. Yavorivskiy) who, in advance as it were, long before the publication of the draft laws on elections in the republic press, published an article in OGONEK in which, without any foundation, they accuse the authors of the draft laws of having taken on board "everything that is negative in the aforementioned all-union law" and of other "sins."

With respect to pluralism of opinions it would be possible to ignore tactless attacks of this kind were it not for the fact that they have been launched by USSR people's deputies, people who are well known in the republic. Were it not for the fact, as P. Fomenko, a war and labor veteran from Sevastopol, has aptly noted during the debate, that they are trying to use their prestige to put pressure on voters.

The fact that, quite clearly, ignoble aims were pursued here was borne out by the further development of events. On 12 August, under the pretext of discussion of the draft law on elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies another "informal" meeting of members of the so-call "interregional deputies' group from the Ukraine" was held in Kiev. A report on this meeting was published by the Lvov newspaper LENINSKA MOLOD. Members of the group called on "all labor collectives to join the struggle for an alternative draft law on elections."

They also invited the Ukrainian public to an republic-wide rally 2 September to express their attitude toward the elections. In the event that the competent organs of power did not accept the alternative draft of the "interregional group" (which did not even exist at that time), a boycott of the elections was to be called, including strike action.

Frankly speaking, this is a new and totally unprecedented practice in the conduct of our people's deputies. With one hand they voted to confirm the impermissibility of strikes before the adoption of an appropriate law at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session. And with the other hand, as we see, they signed the call for a strike.

How is all this to be evaluated? As was rightly noted in the response of a group of USSR and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet people's deputies in the shape of an open letter, the impression is formed that this is much more serious than an excess of emotions or even ambitions. It is an act of provocation, conceived and planned in advance. The question arises: But whose interests does it serve? The interests of those perhaps who 4 mornings a week hurry to the collective farm [kolkhoz] livestock unit, who every morning go down the mine, or stand in front of the open-hearth furnace or in front of a machine in a hot workshop, or the interests of those who live on deputies' fees, that is people's money, avoiding dirty work and wanting to impose their type of democracy—strident, rally-type democracy—on us?

Naturaly, no draft is perfect, that is why it is a draft. The aim of a nationwide discussion is, after all, for all of us together, in a joint and concerted effort, to improve the draft laws, eliminating the provisions which fail to gain majority support and elaborating instead the best possible option.

So much for the aim and ethics. But to the point: Despite all the unevennesses of the union electoral law, no one has the right to disregard its fundamental principles. Once a law has been passed, it has to be observed, whether people like it or not, if we are trying to establish a rule-of-law state. Especially since Articles 74 and 116 of the existing USSR Constitution have not yet been repealed. They state plainly that USSR laws apply with equal force on the territory of all the union republics and that republic laws must accord with union laws. Incidentally, it was precisely on this basis that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted the decree declaring certain provisions of the Estonian SSR Law on the Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the Republic Constitution and the Law on Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies in Estonia, which introduce residential qualifications for participation in elections and the right to be elected to the soviets, to be unconstitutional.

Ultimately, the final decision in the assessment of the draft laws belongs to the voters. Provided that we approach the republic draft electoral laws which have been published in the press without prejudice, even a fleeting perusal will reveal that on a whole number of substantial points they differ from both the union law and the legislative provisions which have regulated elections to republic organs of power up to now.

To begin with, let us note that the draft provides for a reduction in the number of representatives in the Ukrainian SSR supreme organ of power by 50 seats in comparison with the current number. That is the first point. Second, the draft republic laws, as distinct from the union law, do not provide for holding okrug electoral meetings, which "sifted out," as it were, candidates running for USSR people's deputy and hence proved unwarranted. Third, the draft contains a system of measures designed to ensure broader participation by voters in the work of okrug and constituency electoral commissions. Fourth, a quantitative qualification is being imposed on collectives' right to put up their own candidate—they must consist of at least 300 people, so as to ensure social justice in elections with respect to large labor collectives. This is because many of them have leveled justified criticism against the union law since the "wholesale" approach to the nomination of candidates has made it impossible for them to have their own representative among the country's people's deputies. And finally, as distinct from the union law which states that one-third of people's deputies should be representatives of social organizations, our drafts set this figure at one-fourth of the total number. Consequently, if we want these laws to be effective and genuinely democratic, if we want them to enable us to form active, full-fledged organs of state power and to elect prestigious, competent people to them, we must approach this question seriously and responsibly rather than allowing the elaboration of laws to degenerate into an irresponsible farce of demagoguery.

It is no less important also to realize that in order to ensure that our deputies and our organs of state power are worthy of their lofty calling, it is not enough to adopt a good law. Those who invest the people's deputies with their powers—that is, the voters, every citizen—will have to revise many of their attitudes to life. After all, democracy means not only broader rights and the opportunity to draft laws and adopt important decisions. It means first and foremost self-discipline, responsibility, and good organization.

Yes, perestroyka has given us the freedom of speech, the right to have an opinion. Now everyone can express his opinion, even if it differs from what is generally accepted. However, that does not at all mean that it is possible to stage rallies and strikes on every pretext. Only in a calm and businesslike atmosphere can we proceed toward our aims—improving living and working conditions, satisfying people's requirements for food and essential goods, providing amenities in our cities and villages, enabling people to study their own language, protect the environment, and elect their authorities and monitor their activities. The creative activeness of the people, their wisdom, self-discipline, and the ability to balance personal interests with nationwide interests bear a higher price today than ever before. [passage omitted]

One more point: What is needed is political vigilance, intolerance of the forces which have galvanized themselves and are not only not hiding their hostility toward socialism and pitting themselves against the CPSU but, on the contrary, are making a show of it and advocating the idea of creating other political structures as an alternative to the party. At a number of unauthorized rallies in Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Ternopol, and at the building of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet in Kiev calls advocating the violation of our constitutional norms and insubordination to Soviet laws have rung out, and nationalist symbols have been in evidence.

What is one struck by? People pass by, stop, look, and listen... and remain silent as if it did not concern them.

Yet we are supposedly building a rule-of-law state; we are all in favor of everything in this state being in accordance with the law; we are all in favor of laws both being respected and protecting citizens' rights. And what about the state and its integrity, should they not be protected by law? How is it possible to call oneself a citizen and pay no attention to this? How is it possible to remain aloof when before your very eyes the interests of our entire socialist fatherland are encroached upon, when people raise their hand against our most sacred gains for the sake of which our fathers and grandfathers, and the best sons and daughters of our people, fought and sacrificed their lives?

The easiest way out, of course, is to address oneself to the appropriate organs and ask them to restore order, to show their proper place to people who have become carried away with the rush of democracy, people who have forgotten where they are, who they are, what they are doing, and why. Yet a state, and our state in particular, is strong through the consciousness of its masses. It is strong only when the masses, that is I, you, and the next person, approach everything consciously, act in the interests of each and everyone. This is what Lenin taught us, this is what he bequeathed us. With Lenin in mind we conceived our perestroyka in which the people have put their trust, which has won the support of all the healthy forces in our society.

These healthy forces must not allow the national rebirth of all the people in our great Soviet multinational family, drawing on the new opportunities created by perestroyka, to boil over into the disintegration of the cohesion of the fraternal republics, untying the hands of those who, in following their egoistic and occasionally nationalist objectives, pursue even separation from the USSR.

Life has shown that the only way to resolve the acute negative problems which have accumulated in the sphere of interethnic relations and to rid ourselves of the mistakes of the past lies in formulating a nationalities policy in keeping with the demands and the spirit of perestroyka and the new thinking. The CPSU has submitted the basic guidelines of such a policy for nationwide discussion, it has published its platform on this issue. Shortly a CPSU Central Committee plenum will sum up the results of this debate and submit its proposals for discussion to the supreme organ of power in the country—the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

As the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Position in the Soviet Baltic Republics notes, the time has come when each one of us must take up a principled, active stance and act to ensure that both honor and conscience are clear before the people now and before future generations. And that means our joint "No!" to demagogues and adventurers of all kinds. That means staying the hand of anyone who would lift it against our system, our state, or the integrity of our great Soviet Union. And, finally, it means conscientious work on the shop floor, in the mine, the kolkhoz field, or the science laboratory, and intolerance of all distortions of and deviations from the party line; it means genuine civic spirit from each and everyone in his actions and behavior.

This is our kind of democratization. It is truly effective and functional, truly viable and life-affirming both at the level of public consciousness and in the sphere of day-to-day work.

Protests Against Tatar Nuclear Power Station Noted

LD0110123989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Summary] In the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic a protest march against erecting a major atomic power station here is taking place. Its construction is still proceeding despite conclusions of prestigious commissions including scientists, which have recognized that the choice of this place for building the station is extremely unfortunate and may lead to a catastrophe. The USSR Ministry of Atomic Power has ignored the firm and quite definite position of the leadership, who spoke in favor of changing the profile of the construction. Those taking part in the march are inhabitants of Kazan, Naberezhnyye Chelny and Nizhnekamsk. Today in the village for atomic engineers of Kamskiye Polyany, a protest rally will be held.

Protests End 2 Oct

LD0310013389 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Kazan October 2 TASS—Environmentalists in Tataria, an autonomous republic in Russia, today ended a two-day protest march against plans to build a nuclear power station here, as the area is seismically active.

Thousands of people attended rallies which were held in Kazan, Naberezhnye Chelny, Nizhnekamsk, Chistopol and on the station construction site, demanding that the project be converted into something else.

Local scientists criticise the choice of the site over the Kama geological rupture as unfortunate. A tremor could destroy the station and cause a global catastrophe.

Georgian Leader's 19 Sep CPSU Plenum Speech

PM0210121589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed account of "Speech by G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 19 September 1989" under the general heading "On Leninist Principles—Toward a New Quality of Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] Comrades!

Lenin's principle of the nations' self-determination is becoming the most important factor of the further democratization of our multinational state and this convincingly reveals the objective natural logic of perestroyka.

The prestige and influence of the party and of every party organization are increasingly associated in people's minds with their ability to act as reliable guarantors of the expansion of national awareness, the multiplication of unique spiritual values, and the fuller satisfaction of each people's demands and needs in the various spheres of sociopolitical life. Any other path would mean a retreat from democracy and the trends toward renewal.

At the same time, we have no right to underestimate the entire complexity and diversity of problems arising along this path. The national energy that has been released by perestroyka and glasnost and is—why make a secret of it—still badly managed, has already spilled out beyond prevailing forms and frameworks. Interethnic and social relations in the country can be raised to a qualitatively new level only by sharply expanding the range of their application. These decisions can no longer be postponed. It is necessary to soberly determine the non-standard and extraordinary conditions in which some party organizations operate today, creatively ensuring the combination of the party's political line with national interests and the initiative of the masses.

It is no secret that some of our political institutions, brought up on authoritarian principles, still display a certain amount of confusion and timidity in the face of major economic, social, ecological, demographic, and other problems which acquire national overtones. But surely, national ideals have always been a most important factor of consolidation at history's sharp turns? Surely, they are a real reserve for society's moral renewal, for its emergence from lengthy stagnation?

Over the past decades we were so successful in creating a unitary state and so emasculated the very idea of the nations' political and economic sovereignty that today the boldest decisions have been justified, making it possible effectively to involve national initiative in the creative process of perestroyka.

In our view this provision of M.S. Gorbachev's report most accurately reflects the main idea and task of the present Central Committee Plenum. And I think that it is precisely in this perspective that the CPSU draft platform in the field of nationalities policy at the present stage which has been submitted should be examined and seriously worked on.

We are a long way from illusions that all interethnic problems will be eliminated of their own accord in our country by tomorrow. It is impossible to resolve them at a stroke, especially in a country inhabited by over 120 nations, each of which has its own culture, history, language, and unique way of thinking. Being realists means singling out the key element. There is no doubt that the union republics, the entire package of questions connected with the expansion of their rights and power as truly sovereign states—the basic nucleus of the new political structure for the country's management—should be the point of departure at this stage.

Taking into account the emerging centrifugal tendencies toward restoration of republics' sovereignty, the additional incentives for their economic, social, and cultural growth will certainly and objectively give rise to the need for integration and consolidation at a higher and improved economic and intellectual base.

The inadequate integrity of national economies, which leads to a weakening of nations' economic responsibility, remains a serious obstacle in this work.

There is still an acutely felt lack of consistency and resolve in granting the republics the appropriate political, and consequently economic rights. The draft party platform is recognized by the Georgian public to be on the whole a realistic contribution to Lenin's nationalities policy and to the improvement of interethnic relations, yet nonetheless it does not in fact enshrine these rights adequately and sometimes contains mutually exclusive provisions—something reflected in our comments and proposals sent to the CPSU Central Committee.

The effectiveness of these decisions can be ensured only as a result of completely rejecting stagnation stereotypes and granting the republics the opportunity in the majority of cases to decide autonomously [samostoyatelno] and voluntarily, proceeding from specific features, which functional duties can in their view be justifiably delegated to the center. For that it is necessary above all substantially to expand information channels. We have even lifted the curtain on military expenditure, but that is only the beginning. The people have the right to trustworthy knowledge about how the collective funds accumulated in the union budget are being spent and how far that accords with their interests. There is clearly a need for greater differentiation in implementing centrally financed, large-scale economic projects depending on the specific interest of particular republics. Broad opportunities are offered on this plane by interrepublic integration and horizontal ties.

Diktat in the solution of social and cultural tasks is altogether inappropriate. Attempts to create some sort of a monster of socialist monoculture only impoverished our spiritual treasury and deprived it of genuine variety and national substance, reducing it to mere formal and outward attributes.

The expansion of national factors in all spheres without exception is an enormous resource for us and an inexhaustible reserve making it possible to ensure the continuity of the peoples' most valuable political, social, economic, cultural, and moral traditions. It is to this end that, at the initiative of the republican party organization and public, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has elaborated a draft concept of the Georgian SSR's national development. The draft concept proceeds from the republic's specific features and is based on rich experience of its national-state development. It considers comprehensively the multiplicity of forms of ownership, natural and geographical conditions, historical and psychological factors, the population's specific needs and traditions, the way of life, and regional features. Within the framework of the concept the basic avenues of demographic policy, the improvement and regulation of migration processes, and the substantial normalization of the ecological situation will be determined. Substantial tasks are planned to activate fundamental spheres of spiritual life like public education, science, and culture.

It is of fundamental importance that the concept should be based on the task of organically including all people living in Georgia in the process of general national creation. In our view this should really help to reduce the interethnic tension which has emerged recently, as it has throughout the country as a whole, notably just before the plenum.

We also see the key to the solution of the problem in the expansion of the union republics' rights with regard to regulating interethnic relations on their own territories, which should be reflected more clearly in the CPSU platform. This is a natural historical process based on many centuries of experience and on today's realities. Experience has convinced us that encroachment on the republics' sovereignty in resolving vexed questions in this sphere merely aggravates problems and makes them chronic. There are obvious symptoms of excesses committed on interethnic grounds often being preprogrammed and aimed at forcing the introduction of a curfew or a special form of control and therefore at provoking the abandonment of democratic principles and turning us from the course adopted. There is even the feeling that some actions are artificially provoked to back up certain theorizations and schemes in the field of interethnic relations. All this, as the report plainly notes, has an extremely pernicious effect on perestroyka.

We have not yet learned to accept tolerantly, with the necessary understanding and composure, individual diametrically opposed, even radical opinions. Many people are troubled that we are actually raising the questions, for instance, of republican citizenship, of where draftees should do their military service, or the revival of national army formations which, incidentally, reliably stood the test in the Great Patriotic War. At the same time, for some reason there is a far calmer perception when formulas for recarving borders are issued with unwonted ease and attempts are made to squeeze interethnic problems into standardized arithmetical formulas, ignoring the peoples' thousands of years of history and pushing them toward expressing their mutual grievances, which only serves to inflame passions. Some people's political acumen is obviously letting them down.

I am forced to note that during the recent events which occurred on interethnic soil in the republic many of the mass media not only sinned with regard to questions of tact but also displayed a total lack of objectivity. Conclusions cannot be built on the basis of a one-sided approach, without investigating the essence of processes and facts.

It is unfair to level accusations against a people with many centuries of traditions of interethnic communication and living alongside representatives of over 80 nations, for even the smallest of whom conditions have been created enabling them to preserve their uniqueness, culture, and language for centuries. We must approach with great understanding the problems of a small republic which nonetheless includes three autonomous formations—the Abkhaz and Adzhar autonomous republics and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast; and where teaching in schools is in eight languages—Georgian, Russian, Abkhaz, Osetian, Armenian, Azeri, Estonian, and Greek; and where radio programs are broadcast in seven languages and newspapers printed in six. Constant concern is also shown to meet the diverse cultural requirements of the Jewish, Kurdish, and other populations.

For many years now in areas with a dense national minority population people really have enjoyed cultural autonomy rights and had the opportunity to teach their children in their native language, to train and promote national cadres, and to be representatives in leading organs. These forms took shape objectively, without any outside pressure, as a manifestation of the respectful attitude of the representatives of the indigenous nation, which has the right to demand the same respect for its own culture, traditions, and language.

Centuries-old fraternal ties link the Georgian and Abkhaz people. They are conditioned by historical cohabitation in a single shared territory, by shared concerns, shared development, and shared aspirations. Yes, they have undergone some stiff tests. Yes, the Abkhazian people did suffer ills and misfortunes during the tragic personality cult period, which spared neither the Georgian nor the other people in our country. But it would be wrong not to note everything which Soviet power has given Abkhaziya over the decades of its existence, primarily in its national development under conditions of autonomy.

Does it not say a lot that right now in multinational Abkhaziya, where the Abkhazians comprise slightly over 17 percent of the population, national Abkhazian cadres hold up to 40 percent of the seats in local elected organs and over half the leading political and economic posts? The last few years have seen the construction of dozens of new schools and the opening of a national university, a national state theater, and a television service. Creative unions are functioning, and national creative collectives perform all over the world. The capacity of publishing houses is being expanded, and so is the volume of literature, periodicals, and other printed matters published in the Abkhazian language. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee adopted in the recent past special resolutions on the Abkhazian language, and a state program for its development is now being drafted. Nor can one overlook the rising living standards of the population in Abkhaziya. Here there is no need to resort to statistical illustrations.

Only someone who, under cover of "national interests," is seeking to further his own selfish aspirations and ambitions, only a blatant opponent of perestroyka could under these conditions criminally encroach on the peace and calm of his people and provoke interethnic conflict on land which historically has never known such conflicts. Right now an investigation is under way under the supervision of the USSR Prosecutor's office and with the participation of representatives of the law enforcement organs of several union republics. Everything will be established objectively and truth and veracity will undoubtedly prevail. The interethnic dialogue which has begun and the determination of the communists in the oblast party organization and our entire republic to overcome the difficulties which have arisen instill confidence and optimism that we can avoid creating problems for our union in the future.

As you all know, complications on interethnic grounds have also developed in other regions in the republic. Disputed questions are being resolved on the basis of mutual respect and mutual understanding. This is the only possible way to ensure lasting interethnic peace and strengthen people's trust in one another.

The problems of the development of interethnic relations and the intensification of national self-awareness are a very complex reality of our days and an inalienable feature of perestroyka. And there is no alternative to this on the democratic road. The other road means only confrontation. That is why our party, which has firmly embarked on the path of renewal, must become the main uniting political force for the people, for the working people, turning its face toward national problems and engaging in them in earnest; that is why it must ensure consolidation and assert the new principles of its nationalities policy. The republican party organizations, acting through the communists, must find mutually acceptable compromises and solutions to all questions, in no circumstances allowing their ranks to be split along national lines. Our future, the destiny of perestroyka, and our society's switch to a truly democratic type of life depend on the successful management of affairs in this supremely important sphere.

The famous aphorism of our immortal forebear: "Anyone who does not seek friends is his own worst enemy" has turned out to be surprisingly topical in today's crucial and complex period of the restructuring of the country's life begun by the party. These words of wisdom are the foundation of any nation's development and prosperity.

State Bank Subsidizes Georgian Wage Payments

PM2809094989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 2

[GRUZINFORM interview with V. Pateishvili, chairman of the board of the Georgian branch of the USSR State Bank, under the heading "Why the Tills Are Empty"—date and place unspecified]

[Text] When they received their August wages on time, the republic's working people never imagined that the money for this had been allocated by union organs. The shortfall in meeting the cash plan, which has now reached several tens of millions of rubles, has created a substantial shortage of banknotes in the Georgian Republican Bank of the USSR State Bank.

"The situation must urgently be rectified," Vladimir Pateishvili, chairman of the bank board, commented on the situation. "Otherwise this month we will be faced with the fact that we do not have enough money to pay workers and employees their wages and pay pensions and benefits. The problem has not arisen overnight. The financial situation in the republic has been worrying for a long time. True, there have been comparatively good periods when the cash plan has even been overfulfilled, as in the 1st quarter of this year, for example. An increased cash flow into the bank was achieved at that time as a result of an improvement in the work of trade organizations, transport enterprises, and some other sectors of the national economy. However, we have been unable to stabilize the situation completely."

[Correspondent] What do you see as the main reasons for the cash imbalance?

[Pateishvili] First and foremost, the lack of balance in consumer supply and demand. The danger of this situation and the consequences with which it is fraught have been discussed at the highest level. The matter has been repeatedly discussed in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, where literally the other day the state of cash discipline was the subject of strong opinions. It was noted in particular that the Ministry of Trade, the Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives, other ministries and departments, and local soviet organs are failing to take the necessary measures to ensure observance of cash discipline and the full, prompt handover of trade proceeds. All this could have—and indeed is having—a negative impact on the budget of every working person and creates favorable conditions for embezzlement and speculation. The situation has become particularly bad in this respect this year. For example, in comparison to last year, the number of violations of cash discipline has almost doubled.

The steadily growing imbalance between income and expenditure is also leading to an increase in the emission of money. The deteriorating correlation between the money income and expenditure of the population and the increase in the emission of money has also been influenced by the high rate of growth in the average wage in the new economic management conditions in comparison to the rate of growth in labor productivity. As you can see, there is whole chain of cause and effect.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, what, in your view, should be done to rectify the situation?

[Pateishvili] Unfortunately, the problem in question is not only a problem for our republic. The country's best economists and research institutes are engaged in trying to find a solution. We need to develop a well balanced economic system that increases everyone's interest in surrendering proceeds to the state. For this to happen, we need to saturate the market with consumer goods and renounce the diktat of quota-based distribution—in short, create a market economy. But until that happens we have to confine ourselves to the traditional formulas of "strengthen," "improve," "reveal," and "ensure"...

[Correspondent] What, in your view, is the role of cooperatives in all this?

[Pateishvili] So far they play a clearly negative role. Not helping to eliminate the deficit and often even making it worse, cooperatives still very assiduously secure large sums of money for their development. For example, this year alone they were allocated R329.4 million. But the return on this money was 10 times less. The problem is probably that the bulk of the output generated by cooperatives is exported and sold outside the republic and, what is more, at uncontrolled prices. Trade and purchase cooperatives are particularly notorious for this. Without actually creating additional material assets, their members contrive to earn considerable sums of money. That is one of the reasons for the imbalance between money income and expenditure. This is causing understandable dissatisfaction among people.

[Correspondent] So, what are you saying—that the cooperatives should be closed down?

[Pateishvili] Certainly not. But their activities must be properly coordinated and managed.

Kazakhstan Rioter Sentenced to 3 Years' Jail

LD2909205489 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Shevchenko, Kazakhstan September 29 TASS—KAZTAG-TASS—Trials of participants in mass disorders in the Kazakhstan city of Novy Uzen last June continue here.

Today the court heard the cases of Zh. Kuanbayev and B. Sugirov.

Kuanbayev, 24, a resident of Mangyshlak, after taking part in group disturbances in villages close to the city of Shevchenko went to the Mangyshlak railway station on the night of June 22/23.

The court determined that the defendant took part in clashes and brawls there. He was armed with a stick.

Speaking for a mob, he demanded that police release all hooligans detained earlier. When allowed to visit a jail to see that none were kept there, he insulted police and hurled stones at them.

The defendent partially admitted his guilt in court.

The court took into account the fact that Kuanbayev did not have a criminal record, and sentenced him to three years' imprisonment in a enhanced regime correctional labour colony.

The court also determined that the other defendant, Sugirov, born in 1963, was not only an active organiser of the disturbances in Novvy Uzen, but also took part in the same assault on police in Mangyshlak.

He received a suspended two-year sentence and will be obliged to work in a designate locality.

Kazakh Prosecutor Discusses Dec 1986 Events

PM1909163789 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with Kazakh SSR Prosecutor G.B. Yelemisov by unnamed KAZAKH TELEGRAPH AGENCY (KAZTAG) correspondent under the rubric "Discussion With a Competent Interlocutor": "If We Take the Facts Alone..."; date and place of interview not specified; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Appeals have been made from time to time of late for the assessments of the events of December 1986 in Alma-Ata to be reviewed, although such assessments were made in a well-adduced and complete manner in the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolution and have not previously been called in question. At the same time various rumors and conjectures are being circulated clearly with a view to stirring up an unhealthy hullabaloo, especially among young people. In particular, there are exaggerated claims that soldiers of the Internal Forces took illegal actions against the demonstrators, while the truth about this and about the number of casualties and missing persons has hitherto been hushed up, along with claims that many demonstrators were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and thousands were expelled from educational establishments and dismissed from their jobs.

The republic's press reported that the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] had created a commission of deputies to provide additional clarification of all the circumstances linked with the events of December in order to make this matter completely public. It will, naturally, draw its own conclusions. But considering the categorical statements that contradict the previously established facts, it is quite logical to ask the following questions: Were the mass media fully informed at the time? Maybe something was concealed from journalists and the broad public? A KAZTAG correspondent asked Kazakh SSR Prosecutor G.B. Yelemisov these questions in order to obtain clarification. For supervision of the observance of socialist legality is one of the functions of the Prosecutor's Office.

[KAZTAG Correspondent] Galim Bazhimovich, did the newspaper material about the December events in Alma-Ata hide anything from people?

[Yelemisov] Both the republic and the central press published this information quite extensively, and it became increasingly full as competent bodies accumulated authentic data. Criminal proceedings against the organizers of and the active participants in these events were examined in the courts with the participation of the public and observance of the principles of glasnost.

These reports did not arouse doubts in anyone regarding their authenticity and objectivity. Until recently no one had applied to the Prosecutor's Office for information or with questions about the events of December 1986. Had they done so, we would have given those interested any information.

[KAZTAG Correspondent] On the basis of the legislation in force then and now, can the actions of the militia and Internal Forces soldiers to suppress the disturbances in Alma-Ata be described as illegal?

[Yelemisov] We do not have any grounds for saying that. Certainly, the demonstration on New Square was a peaceful one at first. But excitement among those assembled gradually rose under the influence of several dozen extremist elements, who were, moreover, high on alcohol and drugs. Despite this, neither the militia nor the Internal Forces personnel, who had cordoned off the area—which, in order to ensure proper order, is always the case when large masses of people converge—used any measures of coercion against them. They confined themselves solely to calls for prudence and restraint.

The republic's leaders, along with the leaders of law-enforcement organs and higher educational establishments [VUZ's], made repeated appeals of this kind on the square. I also said that the gathering was paralyzing the normal activity of many departments and institutions and impeding the passage of transport, that is it was violating public order.

Unfortunately, these appeals had no effect. Moreover, some young people—roused or simply coerced by the rally's organizers—began to insult the militia and soldiers and then began to wield sticks, iron bars, and lumps of facing material torn off the base of nearby buildings.

It was only in this situation that it was decided to switch to arresting the most active hooligan elements. The precise information regarding the victims on the square is irrefutable evidence that the militia and Internal Forces personnel only took retaliatory action. Some 722 people employed by law-enforcement organs sustained bodily injuries of varying degrees of gravity, including serious injuries, whereas half as many demonstrators—365—sustained injury. Moreover, they sustained these injuries when putting up aggressive resistance to the soldiers and militia. There is no information regarding the use of sapper shovels and guard dogs against those involved in these events.

[KAZTAG Correspondent] What can you say about the number of casualties?

[Yelemisov] No secret has been made of this. Two people died during the incidents. They were S.A. Savitskiy, a rayon center engineer and volunteer militiaman, who was killed in the vicinity of the square by a group of particularly unrestrained rabble-rousers when he urged them to calm down and tried to bar their access to an official building. One of the demonstrators—Ye.M. Spatayev—behaved insolently on the square for 2 days, organizing illegal actions and attacking militiamen and soldiers with sticks. He died in hospital 23 December of serious bodily injuries sustained when resisting law-enforcement officials who were trying to prevent his criminal actions. There are no grounds for reproaching the custodians of order for what happened.

We know nothing about people who are allegedly missing. If the Prosecutor's Office or Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] organs received such reports, they would not fail to check them out.

[KAZTAG Correspondent] Can it be claimed that a large number of people involved in the disturbances suffered unwarrantedly severe criminal or administrative punishment?

[Yelemisov] These figures have already been cited on several occasions. Some 2,400 people were detained by the militia for illegal actions. But the overwhelming majority of them were released within 5-6 hours. Criminal proceedings were instituted against 99 people only—the organizers of and those most actively involved in the mass disturbances. Officials of the Prosecutor's Office and the republic's MVD conducted the investigation into them with supreme thoroughness and without violating the prescribed timeframe.

The judicial examination of all these cases was conducted strictly within the framework of the law. Moreover, many people were given punishment that did not involve imprisonment. Others were pardoned or subsequently released in connection with a reduction in their term of imprisonment following court examination of their cases in line with appeals from the republic's prosecutor. Only 11 people are currently serving time, most of whom are soon to be released. Can it be said that those involved in these events have suffered harsh persecution if K.N. Ryskulbekov—the main culprit in the death of S.A. Savitskiy—who received a death sentence from the court, was pardoned and imprisoned instead?

I must also say that the Prosecutor's Office has not received a single complaint of incompetent actions on the part of the militia and Internal Forces personnel while restoring order during the events, or regarding the verdicts—with the exception, of course, of appeals and applications for an inquiry lodged by the accused and their relatives.

The social measures applied to those involved in the disturbances by VUZ's or labor collectives are not within the competence of law-enforcement organs. Admittedly, we received isolated complaints from students regarding their unfounded expulsion from VUZ's. Their appeals were checked out and in a number of cases, on insistence from the Prosecutor's Office, former students returned to their studies once again. However, I know from press reports that most young men and women who were involved in the disturbances were later restored to VUZ's on the initiative of their rectors and public organizations, in view of the culprits' recent good behavior. So where are the "mass repressions" and thousands of punished victims?

[KAZTAG Correspondent] How do you regard statements that the current acute situation in Kazakhstan in terms of interethnic relations is due to reticence over the December events?

[Yelemisov] I cannot agree with that. Prosecutor's Office organs have not received such information. On the contrary, the situation has, in my view, quite returned to normal. And this is precisely thanks to the fact that breaches of legality were not permitted either when restoring law and order on that terrible day or when passing judgment. I believe the main thing is that the republic's party and soviet organs have taken vigorous and wide-ranging measures to improve interethnic relations and resolve many socioeconomic problems that had an adverse impact on these relations.

Fergana Defendants Face Murder Charges

LD2009194689 Moscow TASS In English 1641 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Fergana (Uzbekistan) September 20 TASS—An indictment was read out today at the open trial of 12 participants of the mass disturbances which took place in the Fergana region in June.

The defendants face charges of premeditated murder with aggravating consequences, premeditated destruction of personal property, malicious hooliganism with the use of firearms and cold steel, rape, looting, etc.

The preliminary investigation findings indicate that late on June 4 the hooligans committed atrocities in Surkhtep village populated by Meskhetian Turks. Oraz Lyumanov with his wife Maynur, a relative and his son drove from his village in an effort to flee their attackers. The hooligans gave chase and stopped them. G. Zhurayev, E. Mirzayev, M. Turgunov and several other defendants, armed with firearms, beat them brutally, then set fire to the car, raped Lyumanov's wife, poured petrol over them and set them alight.

More than 200 participants in the mass disturbances have now been arrested.

Riot Disrupts Uzbekistan Soccer Game 1 Oct

LD0310085989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] From time to time reports on excesses by soccer fans during games appear in the pages of newspapers and in television programs. It seemed to us that this was possible during games played by Western teams, Arsenal, say, or Milan. Nonetheless, the supporters of our clubs have been able to prove that Soviet soccer can be of the same standard, if not in the quality of the game, then in the outrageous behavior at the stadium; and that they, too, can act no worse than the Italian or English fans. Confirmation of this is provided by the operational information of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs which TASS received today. A soccer game between the Kasansayets and Neftyanik teams took place yesterday in the town of Kasansay in Namangan Oblast of Uzbekistan. More than 10,000 people attended. The information report states: About 1,000 people, mainly adolescents, who are displeased with the playing of the Kasansayets team, broke through the militia cordon and tried to get into the dressing rooms, with the intention of mixing it up with the players and referees. The militia intervened and was met with a hail of stones. It was possible to disperse the crowd only by using weapons. After blank warning shots were fired from automatic weapons, the hooligans ran away. The more active of them were arrested.

Matters were much worse for the militia workers: 22 people received injuries, and two militiamen were hospitalized. The wondows of two official vehicles were smashed. Criminal proceedings have been instituted with regard to the cases of mass disorders. The procurator's office is conducting the investigation. The USSR State Committee will probably react to this situation in a proper manner. I would just like to note that when it is excesses by hooligans at soccer stadiums over there [abroad] that are involved, the police have full right to act more harshly. It is a good thing that blanks shots were enough; what if they had not been?

Uzbek Officials Stop Drug Smugglers

LD3009182389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In conjunction with republican internal affairs bodies, the State Security Committee of Uzbekistan has carried out an operation to put a halt to the criminal activities of a group of people involved in drug trafficking and illegal hard currency operations. [video report shows exterior of Termez customs office]

[Correspondent] Here at the customs office an attempt to smuggle a large number of drugs from Afghanistan into this country has been stopped. A ordinary gasoline can, which had been fixed with a special section, was found to be filled with 20 kg of opium. [video shows gasoline can being taken from car trunk, packages, knives, money] In addition, valuable old weapons were found in the trunk. During the preliminary investigation four people were charged. Money and valuables with a total worth of more than R800,000 were confiscated from the accused, as well as approximately 5 kg of drugs.

Here are the storage premises of a cooperative in the town of Bukhara. [video shows warehouse yard] Alongside ordinary products, such as cake tins, shopping bags and the like, the criminal gang had set up the minting of gold coins and the production of items of jewelery. Here is the furnace for smelting the precious metals, and this is the finished product. [video shows cake tins, minting machine, piles of coins, furnace, jewelery] In the course of the preliminary investigation a large sum of money, artificial rubies, pearls and silver and gold items were confiscated from the criminals. Involvement of members of an organized group in drug distribution is also being investigated.

Uzbekistan Plenum Discusses Food Provisions

LD3009172989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 89

[Text] A Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which was held in Tashkent today, considered progress in fulfilling the decisions of the 11th plenum of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee on improving the provision of the population with foodstuffs and developing the base for the storage and processing of agricultural output. Over the past 6 months a number of positive improvements have been discernible. The pace of producing foodstuffs has started to outstrip the increase in population. There has been a marked change in investment policy, and the entry into service of facilities for the storage and processing of agricultural products has accelerated. However, as yet there has been no fundamental breakthrough in providing the population with foodstuffs. Planned measures are being implemented with a great time lag.

The plenum adopted a decision on the convening of the 22d congress Uzbekistan Communist Party for the elections to the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies.

The plenum was addressed by Comrade Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee.

Uzbek Changes in Agro-Industrial Management Proposed

LD2909125889 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Excerpt] With the aim of improving the management of the agro-industrial complex in the republic, the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. To form a republican State-Cooperative Committee of the Uzbek SSR for Agriculture and to dissolve the State Agro-industrial Committee of the Uzbek SSR;

2. To reorganize the union republican State Committee of the Uzbek SSR for Land Reclamation and Water Resources into a republican Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources of the Uzbek SSR, and a State Committee of the Uzbek SSR for Water Resources Construction. [passage omitted]

Central Asian Muslims Adopt Appeal to Balts

PM2709155589 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Sep 89 p 1

["Appeal by the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan to Our Brother Believers in the Baltic Republics" adopted by the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan]

[Text] We Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan appeal to our brother believers, with whom we are tied not only culturally, spiritually, and economically, but also by bonds of love and fraternity. We were always together—in times of joy and sorrow. We shall recall the dark years of the Great Patriotic War, when we together liberated Europe from the fascist plague.

At present we are closely observing the progress of events in your republics, and so we appeal to the Supreme Creator to send patience and steadfastness to those whom Satan by his temptation is diverting from the correct path and to those whom he is striving to deprive of civic sense and wisdom.

The peoples, including Muslims from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, always remember the fraternal aid of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian peoples when the Uzbeks and Tajiks were the victims of natural disasters—earthquakes. So it is with pain in our hearts that we see what is taking place in your republics, where antinational and anti-Soviet forces are trying to undermine our friendship gained with such difficulty when we raised the war-ravaged country and set it on its feet, and now, inspired by the policy of perestroyka and glasnost, we have seriously set to work to boost its economy. In these conditions the power of our friendship is particularly needed. And, on the basis of our religious and civic duty, we must strengthen our great country together. As believers, we are hoping, together with your help, to assist all society in getting out of the present serious situation, and to prevent it from casting itself into the flames, for our holy Koran says: "And spend of your substance in the cause of God, and make not your own hands contribute to your destruction; but do good; for God loveth those who do good!" According to the teaching of this holy scripture, to wreck the friendship made by the people is regarded as an intolerable sin, for it is said: "Do no mischief on the earth, after it hath been set in order, but call on Him with fear and longing; for the Mercy of God is near to those who do good!"

This indicates that we must all rely on our own forces, not ruin the cultural, economic and spiritual ties established during the years of Soviet power, and not yield to the temptation of those calling for a split.

For it is characteristic precisely of believers to be well aware of and properly value the blessings bestowed by Allah. We Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan are proud of the fact that our natural wealth and raw materials are the property of all people in the Baltic republics, on the basis of which we are sure that we will continue to cooperate.

In your Holy Bible the importance of people's cooperation in the name of the ideals of friendship and love is repeatedly stressed.

So we appeal to believers to obey God's word, which stresses the power of unity and says that those who want to break away will fall prey to wolves.

The Holy Koran says that Christians are closest to the Muslims. So we believe that friendship has been given by the Most High to the Muslims and Christians from the Baltic republics, and we appeal to you to devote yourselves to the ideals of our sacred religions and to maintain the spirit of friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

[Signed] Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan

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Perestroyka Opponents Warned Against Staging Coup

AU0310105589 Paris AFP in English 1035 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 3 (AFP)—A Soviet intellectual has warned the adversaries of perestroyka, the country's drive for renewal, against staging a coup d'etat, saying that the ensuing repression would lead to a "real revolution."

Andrei Nuikin, in an open letter to the magazine OGONEK, warned "the corrupt, the hawks of the military-industrial complex, the mafiosi and other parasites" who today may be "united in your hatred of perestroyka", against trying to halt the renewal program through a coup.

Once in power, the only common program that the "corrupt and the hawks" could agree upon would be a "new Iron Curtain and a campaign against imperialism" internationally.

Internally the only recourse for new rulers would be to take up "clubs and shovels" against inter-ethnic strife, Mr. Nuikin said, in a somber reference to a crackdown against demonstrations in the Soviet republic of Georgia last April.

"Society would attempt to shake off the dictatorship, blood would be spilled, there would be disorder, a breakup of the Soviet federation, and a real revolution," he wrote.

Mr. Nuikin won notice last year when he warned that conservatives would soon issue an anti-perestroyka manifesto. Such a document appeared shortly thereafter in the form of a letter to several newspapers, signed Nina Andreyava, a professor at the university of Leningrad.

Communist Party in Era of Pluralism Discussed

PM0210201989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "A Communist's Position and Pluralism of Opinions"]

[Text] We are all different. We think differently, we assess events and phenomena differently, and propose our own solutions...

There is nothing new in this, it is merely a statement of fact, but how much time and effort did it take for this obvious point, which is easily perceived on a domestic everyday level, to finally be acknowledged, so to speak, officially and to surface at meetings and rallies, in magazines and newspapers, on television, and on the radio... A broad spectrum of opinions, judgments, and views, which was quite recently only a feature of conversations and lobby debates, has come to light in all its polychromy and polyphony during the debates at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, at party Central

Committee plenums, and during reports and elections in party grassroots cells and has received citizenship rights, so to speak.

These are signs of perestroyka, its achievements, and a manifestation of the strengthening glasnost, openness, and awakened political activeness without which revolutionary changes in consciousness and the transition from the "monolithic approach" which oppresses the reason, and from sham unanimity to the new, free thinking and creative, transforming activity to renew society on the basis of truly socialist principles, are impossible.

The radical changes in the economy, the demolition of the administrative-edict system, and the practical mastering of economic methods are not coming easily to us, and changes in the sociocultural sphere, the surmounting of the notorious leftover principle, and the refocusing toward man, his needs, and requirements—material and spiritual—are not taking place as rapidly as we would like. Processes in public awareness are proceeding with equal, if not greater, difficulty: the analysis of the past and the present, the choice of ways to progress to a qualitatively new state of society, the harmonization of interethnic relations, and so on. Thoughts are fettered by the stereotypes of the former hackneyed ideas, and many party officials' inclination toward ideological comfort and fear of open and honest dialogue on topical questions which are a source of acute anxiety to millions of people are taking their toll. On the other hand, some people are clearly swept up by the unruly forces of rallies and there are frequent manifestations of nihilism and a desire to virtually erase our history. In the wake of reasonable criticism of the deformations of socialism committed in the past, you sometimes also hear calls for society to be "cleansed" of socialist ideals and for the orientation toward borrowed ideological-political and moral values to be stepped up.

Many PRAVDA readers are perplexed that such statements can be heard from the lips of certain party members. Ye. Ivanova, N. Tkacheva, N. Zhurin, and other authors wrote to the editorial board about this. Communists rightly demand that party committees make assessments of manifestations of philosophical unscrupulousness, political extremism, ambition, and the advocacy of national exclusiveness.

Yes, society's ideological life is swiftly becoming richer and increasingly full and open, but it is at the same time becoming increasingly contradictory and requires supreme political activeness from party members. The development of ideas, including those that do not fit in with the concept of socialist pluralism of opinions, cannot be halted by prohibitions; our party principles must be asserted by means of ideological influence. Each one of us must determine his position, make his choice, and clearly answer the questions put forward by perestroyka on the basis of the interests of the working class and all working people, the country's interests. Our party—and this is what most Soviet people, without exaggeration, expect of it—is called upon to be a consolidating force and to unite all healthy social movements on the platform of the revolutionary renewal of socialism and on Marxist-Leninist principles. It can and must strengthen its role as the political vanguard of society, overcome the obstacles of the stagnant period, and be the guarantor of the irreversibility of the processes of democratization and glasnost and the creation of a law-based state founded on the sovereignty of the soviets of people's deputies.

However, we cannot fail to be disturbed that some party members have themselves lost their heads in conditions of pluralism of opinions and either play a waiting game or take up a defensive position. How in fact are we to understand the diversity of opinions, approaches, and proposals, and how are we to separate the wheat from the chaff? Some people yearn for the "good old days" when everything was simpler: There were unambiguous directives for virtually every situation in life, there was a ready answer to every question. That, so it is claimed, is why there were no problems: There were no "informals," no strikes....

A naive explanation! Today only the blind can fail to see that the former "answers" were often not answers at all, they only reassured those people who refused to investigate the essence of the questions, face up to the truth, and learn honest, sometimes bitter lessons. Hence the burden of unsolved painful problems both in the economy and in the social sphere whose knots have to be unraveled today. Hence people's sharp reaction to the slightest attempts to close our eyes once again to the contradictions and difficulties, postpone solutions "until later," and ascribe them to perestroyka.

Of course, not everything can be resolved right away, especially when it is a question of deep-seated pivotal problems and of choosing strategic directions. An active, creative quest, bold thinking, and innovative approaches are needed here.

Very many people are still inclined to take on trust those people who only engage in scathing criticism and sometimes deliberately lay it on thick without essentially proposing any real way out. Even Communists often give up when faced with these loudmouths. For instance, nothing can justify the fact that in a number of regions party committees have been unable to actively oppose nationalist elements which are fueling the atmosphere and undermining the foundations of the friendship between the peoples of the USSR. Nor can one tolerate the fact that party organizations often lose the initiative, lag behind in assessing extreme situations, and evade analysis of acute questions, which compels people to seek the truth from various informal associations and groups. On the other hand, for instance, Leningraders assessed on their true merits the blunt uncompromising discussion at the oblast party aktiv meeting and party members' determination "to be more radical than the radicals" in combating negative phenomena, fighting for an atmosphere in public life worthy of the great city, and fighting for working people's interests.

The ability to persuade and act in a revolutionary fashion in the most complex conditions—that is what is required of Communists and party organizations today. How can we learn this? There are no readymade prescriptions. The ability comes with experience. For instance, the debates organized by Moscow's Sevastopolskiy CPSU Rayon Committee were a good school in political culture for many Communists. People here were not afraid to enter into argument either with informals or with so-called Democratic Union members: Let people assess for themselves what is behind both sides' words and let them make a considered choice.

A Communist's position involves being among and with people and setting an example of ideological conviction and a creative approach to the resolution of perestroyka's tasks in word and deed.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Discusses Military Draft

LD0210124289 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Today the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session continued its work. As the sittings proceeded one of the deputies called it a session of postponed decisionmaking. This might exactly have happened but for a bill on elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet passed into law. Add a whole range of constitutional amendments on the election system and we are in a position to speak of the session results.

Yet a very important bill on referendum and a resolution on Article 70 of the Lithuanian Constitution have been adjourned for later debates. In general, more now than ever before it became obvious, many deputies noted, that parliament should sit permanently since practice shows that the further we move the longer become the sessions. Not a single Lithuanian parliament session so far continued as many as 5 days. This is the day following on tomorrow. [as heard] So today the session debated two agenda items—on the military service of Lithuanian draftees and constitutional amendments. The morning session began with a most controversial issue, that of military service, but the final resolution was adopted almost unanimously. The most radical deputies believe that a compromise solution was achieved. Yet that is virtually all that our deputies can attain in the present period. True the discussion has been rather heated and ranged from the letters sent in by the mothers of the perished soldiers to the cold-blooded statement from the General (grivosheyev), who said he expressed condolence to all the mothers who lost their children. According to him it is not the army but society at large that is to blame for wretched conditions of military service. Former convicts as well as degradated youngsters are drafted into the army, he said. For instance, out of 62 crimes by the Lithuanian soldiers 27 were committed by former convicts.

Yet this fact fades when compared to another example given by the General (Grivosheyev) himself. In 10 years' time 10 soldiers perished in the Baltic military district, one or two each year gives his life in other districts not far from Lithuania. The proportion is like this—the farther from Lithuania, the more victims. So aren't we right in pressing demands for letting our draftees stay in the European part of the Soviet Union?

Stasis Kasauskas, a member of the commission to deal with draftees matters, presented to the session the findings of a sociological survey. The high school students, former soldiers, maintain that every second Lithuanian in the army is labelled fascist. Around 90 percent of the polled say that older soldiers make the newly drafted do all kinds of jobs—stealing arms, ammunition, food and personal belongings is common. Every third person questioned witnessed suicide. Only a mere 14 percent did not suffer from nonstatutory relations.

And to conclude our commentary a few words about passions running high in today's session. The law on elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, as well as whether to allow soldiers from military units stationed in Lithuania to take part in elections, stirred up heated debates.

Estonian Deputy Interviewed on Economic Plan

PM0310083389 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 14 Sep 89 p 12

[Interview with Estonian People's Front Deputy Tiit Made by Jordi Montaner in Barcelona; date not given]

[Text] Tiit Made, a nationalist deputy for the Estonian People's Front in the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, who yesterday delivered a lecture in Barcelona on "Estonia: A National Demand in the Soviet Union," at a function organized by the Acta Foundation, is in favor of a market economy, a multiparty system, and states which are autonomous and independent but in close cooperation within the framework of the USSR—"something similar to the EC."

"The Soviet empire has collapsed," the Estonian deputy asserted in statements to LA VANGUARDIA, "just as other empires, such as the Roman Empire, have collapsed and disappeared in the course of history." "I am not in favor of a confederation of states as a future solution for the USSR, as physicist and deputy Andrey Sakharov advocates, since he seeks to save the empire through his chauvinist approach and progressive formulas," asserted Made, who is a journalist and economist by profession, and was one of the architects of the self-financing model for Estonia.

Chauvinist Nation

[Montaner] What is the most urgent problem right now—the nationalist problem or the economic problem?

[Made] Obviously, the nationalist problem, since it is not understood in Moscow. They believe that "homo Sovieticus" has already been created. For 65 years they have been creating this man, and the small nations have had no opportunity to explain their problems. The Russian nation is chauvinist and, as is natural, cannot understand the other nations' problems, but now Gorbachev speaks of glasnost and there is an opportunity to talk about these issues, our problems; and we have done so over the past 2 years, as have the Armenians, Georgians, Moldavians, and so forth. In Moscow they are talking about economic problems. As far as they are concerned, restructuring is just the development of the economy. They believe that if these problems are resolved, there will be no nationalist problems in the USSR.

"We are, they say, one big family: Let us take care of the economy, but under Soviet leadership, of course." We agree," the nationalist deputy continued, "but on an equal footing—not dependent on the Soviet big brother. Yet now the two problems—the nationalist problem and the economic problem—have merged. How will Gorbachev extricate himself from this jam? I do not know. Some people are now saying that it is time to change the 'tsar,' but in Estonia we support Gorbachev because, without his political plan, we would not have been able to express all our aspirations. But we know that Gorbachev wishes to save the empire while we wish to leave that empire."

Made believes that Gorbachev makes no reference to the nationalist issue anywhere in his book because he knew nothing about the issue, "because he was convinced that the problem of nationalism had been resolved, and because, basing himself on his Soviet ideology, he does not understand that small nations have their way of thinking and their own way of life."

With respect to Mikhail Gorbachev's television address last Saturday, in which he delivered a warning about the economic and nationalist problems, Made stated that the Soviet leader was critical and that his appearance before the cameras was connected with the latest developments in the Soviet Union, "such as, for instance, the 23 August event, which was a shock for the Kremlin, when 2 million people in the 3 Baltic republics formed a human chain to mark the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact whereby the USSR annexed the Baltic republics. Now we are being threatened by Moscow because of this. From the Kremlin's viewpoint, we are the number one nationalist problem, but it is Islamic fundamentalism in the Central Asian republics which should come first. There are just 7 million people in the Baltic republics, as against the tens of millions of the Islamic population who are influenced by Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan."

Buffer Zone

"The Baltic republics create no problems. Gorbachev should realize that this area is a buffer zone between East and West, and since he needs the West's economic assistance, we have excellent relations in this respect with West Europe and with the United States. We form part of Europe's cultural heritage, and we have a considerable asset which no other country has, since we also know the Soviet situation in depth. We must sell this asset and turn it to account since we can cooperate with Moscow."

[Montaner] Is there no danger of military intervention in the Baltic in view of the nationalities' demands?

[Made] There are 150,000 Soviet troops in Estonia—1 for every 4 Estonians. We Estonians are very peaceful people. In the hypothetical event of their invading us, we will not go into the streets. We will stay at home. The troops and tanks will have to fight among themselves, but not with us. We can do nothing against troops; we can only use our wits. We are not terrorists and will never conduct terrorist actions against the troops or their families. The only chance we have is to create a society through parliamentary debates. In Estonia we think of revolution in intellectual terms; that is why the Russians are beginning to speak of our revolution as a "singing revolution." There is a Russian International Movement which would like to see us fighting against troops on the streets, but we are pacifists and still remember two deplorable experiences of troops entering our streets, in 1941 and 1949, when thousands of Estonians were deported to Siberia.

Appeal Warns of Conservative-Inspired Violence

PM2709152589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 p 4

["Appeal by the Board of the Estonian People's Front and the Boards of Regional People's Fronts"]

[Text] To all patriots of Estonia!

Conservative forces inside and outside Estonia are trying their utmost to turn the high political tension in Estonia into conflicts and violence in the weeks ahead. We must not allow that!

For the sake of Estonia's peaceful and secure development the Estonian People's Front urges all political movements and organizations:

—to refuse to hold any mass political street events in September;
—to replace street events by active and resolute parliamentary political activity and strenuous joint labor to implement Estonian self-management.

On the basis of these principles, the Estonian People's Front rejects the mass political event planned for 10 September on the Tallinn Song Festival Grounds. Instead we call on all who support the People's Front to take part 16-17 September in a "Political toloka [joint farm work done for the benefit of the landowner in exchange for a day's food] of the People's Front" on the fields of Estonia. Estonian radio will also join in the toloka so that during those days Estonian songs will be heard across the whole country.

We are counting on the good will and cooperation of all who are interested in Estonia's peaceful development!

KGB Said To Harass Estonian Journalist

PM0110140789 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 28 Sep 89 p 8

["TZ" report: "Estonian Appeal"]

[Text] "An Estonian journalist, Madis Jurgen, is discovering at the moment that there are limits to glasnost. KGB men are at the editorial offices of the KULTUUR JA ELU journal in Tallinn waiting to arrest him. They are threatening to arrest his chief editor, Sirje Endre, and charge her with hiding Madis Jurgen from the authorities."

So said FINANCIAL TIMES Copenhagen correspondent Hillary Barnes, who told the sad story of his fellow journalist in Estonia. Barnes, who has lived in Denmark for many years, met Jurgen in August under dramatic circumstances and was in telephone contact with him a few days ago. He said this about the background to the drama in Tallinn: "This summer Madis Jurgen wrote a series of articles in the Estonian youth paper. The articles described how conscripts from Estonia and other European parts of the Soviet Union are mistreated—sexually too—when they are sent to the southern republics. The officers know what is going on but have done nothing, Jurgen claimed in his articles. The articles led to several soldiers receiving prison sentences of 3 to 5 years at a trial in Odessa for their part in events.

"When I met Jurgen in Tallinn in August he told me that the army's first reaction to the articles was to have him called up for military service, but that he did not expect that this would come to anything. But I myself saw that everything was being done to embarrass him. One day when we we driving in Jurgen's car one of the back wheels fell off. When we took a look at the wheel we discovered that three of the four bolts securing the wheel had been removed. And Jurgen was in no doubt that it was the KGB that had been up to its tricks. Then last Wednesday [20 September] Jurgen and two colleagues were told that they should report for military service. Jurgen has not reported, and the KGB has said that he will be charged with refusing military service. His chief editor, Sirje Endre, has told the authorities that Jurgen is indispensable because her staff is at present working on a special issue on Estonian culture which is to be used in connection with an imminent campaign to promote Estonian culture in Canada. The chief editor is now appealing to international journalist organizations to defend Jurgen's right to practice his profession," Hillary Barnes said.

KGB Apprehends Protection Racketeers

PM0310133189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Racketeers Caught Redhanded"]

[Text] On 20 September the leaders of a Moscow cooperative who had been subjected to extortion by criminal elements who, upon threat of physical reprisal, demanded the payment of a large sum of money, appealed to the USSR KGB. On 29 September the racketeers, named as students from a Moscow higher educational establishment, were caught redhanded by KGB staffers while receiving R15,000. An investigation is under way.

KGB Staff Answer Workers' Questions

PM0310081589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 89 p 4

[Account of discussion between KGB staffers and the collective of the Moscow Machine Building Plant named for P.O. Sukhoy "recorded" by Yu. Shabanov under the rubric: "Security Officers Relate": "Behind the Wall of Secrecy"—first paragraph is MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA introduction, date of the discussion not given]

[Text] What is the structure of the state security organs? Do Western special services still engage in classical espionage? What about openness and glasnost at defense industry enterprises? Do cases of links between KGB staffers and the mafia exist? What sort of struggle did security officers wage against dissidents? Did KGB organs take part in the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Tbilisi, and Fergana? Do security officers protect all members of the Politburo? These and other questions were answered by USSR KGB staffers during a meeting with the collective of the Machine Building Plant named for P.O. Sukhoy.

I. Ustinov: Recently, in connection with his appointment to the chairmanship of the KGB, Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov presented a relatively detailed report to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the activities and tasks of KGB organs. This report, as you will remember, was relayed on radio and television and covered in the press. This was probably the first time that the Soviet people had been told in such detail about what security officers do.

Even before this, many people knew, of course, that we do have an intelligence service in our country whose task is to help strengthen the security of the Soviet state, protect its defense, economic and political interests and positions, and forestall and cut short hostile encroachments against our citizens stationed abroad. Incidentally, there are now more than 250,000 of them. Now Soviet people have been furnished with specific information in greater detail. And we will also try to conduct our dialogue here as frankly as possible. But to come to the point: Our intelligence service gathers objective information about the situation in the world and the plans and intentions of leading Western countries in respect to the Soviet Union for the purpose of enabling us to adopt optimum decisions at the state level.

There is also a counterintelligence service in the country, including a military counterintelligence service, whose task is to protect our state secrets and vitally important interests against espionage, subversion, sabotage, and other intelligence-gathering and subversive activities on the part of capitalist states' special services. The KGB also carries out complex work in the organization and maintenance at an up-to-date level of secret, classified communications, including encoded communications inside and outside the country. The KGB controls the border troops totaling 200,000 men. They protect the 62,000 km state border and guard the Soviet Union's 200 mile economic zone. In addition, security officers wage a struggle against internal and international terrorism and expose smuggling and illegal foreign currency operations and also operations connected with drug trafficking. In this area we work in contact with the special services of other states, including capitalist states. Another important sector of our work is the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinist repressions. And, last but not least, KGB organs are actively involved in the struggle against organized crime.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that we are working in, frankly speaking, unprecedented conditions of democracy and glasnost, in a situation where more foreigners are coming to our country and are given extensive freedom of movement, where more of our people are traveling abroad, and where the representation of foreign firms and the number of joint ventures in our country are increasing. At the same time we still have the responsibility for ensuring the country's state security. And so perestroyka has not bypassed our committee either. We, too, are learning to work in a new fashion.

Occasionally you can hear: All that talk about espionage and so forth is fabrication, mere rumors spread by the KGB to justify its existence. Well, I can tell you this. In the past few years KGB staffers have exposed around 30 agents of Western special services. Brazen operations to install electronic intelligence-gathering devices in the vicinity of important installations, transport facilities, and cable communication lines on the territory of the Soviet Union, and bugging devices in Soviet establishments abroad have been uncovered. Provocative actions against Soviet scientists, specialists, and servicemen abroad have been countered.

Or take commercial secrets, for instance. Security officers have exposed a number of very serious crimes committed by staffers of the former State Committee for Foreign Economic Ties and the Ministry of Foreign Trade, specifically deputy minister Sushkov, and of some other organizations. In exchange for bribes they passed classified information to foreign firms, thus placing them in an advantageous position in comparison with their competitors, or they concluded contracts with them which were obviously not to our country's advantage. The economic consequences of these crimes are expressed in multimillion losses.

For instance, as a result of the criminal actions of Prasolov, Mikhaylov, and Lykov, former leaders of the All-Union "Soyuzvneshstroyimport" association, the state lost more than R10 million in foreign currency under three contracts for the delivery to the USSR of housing complexes for the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline alone. It is true that it was possible to recover most of this money during the investigation. It should be mentioned that in your industry, the aviation industry, there have been such wheeler-dealers, too. Not so long ago a certain Ivanovskiy, former staffer of the scientific research Institute of Technology and Production Organization, was exposed and prosecuted under the criminal law. He had passed on classified information about the Ministry of the Aviation Industry's requirements for imported equipment, funds appropriated for this purpose, price ceilings, information about competitors, and so forth. He had received around R170,000 for this information.

These, in general, are our tasks. This is the work we do. Other colleagues will speak about it in more specific terms. We have a question here, for instance, about security officers' links with the mafia.

V. Kuzmichev: Since people have asked this, I must state with utmost responsibility: There has been no instance of links between KGB staffers and corrupt, organized crime. Although, understandably, security officers do not work in a vacuum. So they come into contact with representatives of foreign special services, for instance, who try to exert influence on them. And, unfortunately, sometimes penetration, so to speak, does take place. It is negligible, but it has nonetheless happened that KGB staffers, particularly external intelligence representatives, have taken the road of treason, have passed information constituting a state secret to capitalist countries' special services. For this they were prosecuted under criminal law. It is painful, but it must be admitted that certain of our staffers have agreed to assist smugglers, our own people and foreigners, in exchange for bribes. They have all been exposed by other security officers and punished under the law. But in principle, these are isolated cases.

Now some details about organized crime and security officers' participation in combating it. The KGB first came up against this phenomenon a long time ago. I myself took part in the sixties in the investigation of the cases of Shakerman, Rayfman, and others—our own, home-grown underworld businessmen. These big dealers had secret workshops fitted with excellent equipment, they were able to obtain raw materials from state stocks, and they sold their wares through stores. In order to keep all this secret, they bribed individual officials in the administrative apparatus and the law enforcement organs.

And here is a recent example. I am referrring to the case of Saltykov, Zarefa, and 15 other people. For 4 years they engaged in smuggling and speculation and exported R7.5 millions' worth of gold and silver articles (mainly antiques) and also industrial goods from the Soviet Union. We caught the criminals red-handed.

We have dealt with cases of organized crime in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia. At present we are investigating a contract murder case. It took place in Armenia. Hired assassins killed two of their compatriots for the sum of R300,000. This case is in its final stage now.

I have also been asked whether secrecy and glasnost do not conflict with each other in the operation of defense enterprises. I will answer in the words of Academician Smirnov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, with whose position I agree entirely. I am quoting almost literally: There is no reason to pit the expansion of glasnost on the one hand against the need to closely observe secrecy on the other. The existence of the system of secret services in capitalist countries is fraught with the constant threat of espionage and subversive activities directed against the USSR and other socialist countries, and this calls for great vigilance and strict maintenance of state, military, scientific, industrial, and technological secrets. One of the features of the glasnost principle is the existence of a list of classified information. The list itself must be public, while its content is strictly classified, inaccessible. All the information not contained on that list is unclassified and therefore accessible.

Incidentally, such a list does exist in our country, but it was issued long ago, in 1955, and many people have forgotten its existence.

As regards the existence of the imperialist system, I would like to add one more important problem to those cited by the respected academician. This is the introduction of the institution of commercial and technological secrets. Here, too, as is the case in all countries, we must keep our cards close to our chests, otherwise we will be left high and dry...

A. Karbainov: What can one say about the trials of the sixties and seventies concerning dissidents? These were criminal processes which were conducted in accordance with legislation in force at that time. It is obvious now that some of these processes were marked by subjectivism. Such were the times. An impartial assessment of them has now been made. They dictated their own laws. Take, for instance, Article 70 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Criminal Code on "Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda," or Article 190 on "Slanderous Fabrications." The description of the punishable offenses is imprecise, even vague. And this made it possible to stretch their interpretation. Sometimes as a result of incompetence, and sometimes as a result of other subjective reasons this, alas, did occur. And so it happened that people who merely sharply criticized shortcomings which actually existed were prosecuted under the criminal law. Now these articles have been revised. It is now a question, as you know, of crimes connected with "acts of violence aimed at the overthrow of the government in power" or "incitement to change the existing state system by force.".

As for the extraordinary processes happening right now and the KGB organs' participation in them, I can say the following. Security officers are taking part in work connected with eliminating the causes of events of this kind and their consequences. It is our task to forestall the development of this kind of situation, which can get out of hand. Frankly, we are not always successful. We have probably not always put these questions to state and party organs vigorously enough, although in principle we have assessed the situation correctly.

Interjection from the floor: You spoke about the trials of dissidents and condemned deliberate subjectivism. However, your committee played a certain role in this. What is your attitude to that role?

A. Karbainov: Personally, my attitude is negative. Incidentally, a major reappraisal of values, a profound perestroyka is under way in our organs at present. And—most important—people who think in categories of the present time are joining the organs. I believe that this is one of the important guarantees, in addition to glasnost and precisely formulated laws, that nothing like that will be repeated.

V. Kuzmichev: I have just been asked about the participation of state security organs in the rehabilitation of victims of Stalinist repressions. You know that a special CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for Rehabilitation has been set up. The KGB has given it the most direct assistance in work with archive documents.

The state security organs are examining a large number of appeals from both rehabilitated people themselves and their relatives, and they are dealing with their social and legal claims. We are returning to people the personal documents of those who were subjected to reprisals—certificates, photographs, diplomas, documents, manustcipts, and letters—given that they still exist. Our organs also take part in handling property claims, establishing where people have been buried, and so forth.

Interjection from the floor: The question has now been raised of punishing the butchers. These butchers were staffers of the organization which was the predecessor of your organization. Is that task within your sphere of competence, or is it a purely public function?

V. Kuzmichev: There are no longer any staffers in the state security organs who participated directly in the mass repressions of the past. Even purely by dint of age there can be none of them among us. Furthermore, a large number of former NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] staffers were sentenced for breaking the law. Some were even sentenced to capital punishment—execution by firing squad.

Interjection from the floor: Let's talk about something closer to the present. Do all members of the Politburo have KGB protection?

I. Ustinov: Yes, under the regulation on the KGB currently in force, all members of the Politburo are protected by our staffers.

Interjection from the floor: I read somewhere that President Reagan had only five bodyguards. When we watch television we sometimes get the impression that Mikhail Sergeyevich is constantly surrounded by two rows of worried-looking guys trying to look in all directions. Don't you think this is a bit much?

I. Ustinov: It is common practice in all countries. State leaders have always had and will continue to have bodyguards. There is obviously no need to recall the fate of Indira Gandhi, Bandaranaike, Palme, John Kennedy himself, and Robert Kennedy, and many other leaders from various countries. The world has become a very complex place now. There is terrorism and there are all kinds of psychological disorders resulting from constant stress. As for the numbers, I believe that the size of Reagan's bodyguard is greatly understated. As far as I know, his security staff was much bigger.

Interjection from the floor: Does classical espionage by Western special services still exist?

I. Ustinov: But of course. In practice we see three types of intelligence work. Secret agent work, carried out by hired people. These can be citizens of the mother country—for instance, a U.S. citizen who has some contact with the Soviet Union. He could be hired by the CIA. Or a citizen of a third country. Or it could be a citizen of the USSR, if it proves possible to hire such a person. Unfortunately, as I mentioned earlier, there have been such cases.

The second type of intelligence work is the utilization of "legally" available opportunities. The processing of information from unclassified publications, visual observation, and all kinds of data gathering and so forth. And the third type is foreign technical reconnaissance. The U.S. "KH-12" satellite, for instance, can take in objects the size of a matchbox on the ground.

Interjection from the floor: Does the KGB keep files on Soviet people?

I. Ustinov: The KGB does not keep files on Soviet people: I can state this quite categorically. However, we do carry out checks and operational investigations if circumstances necessitate it. As for foreigners who deserve our operational attention—as a result of links with terrorist organizations, for instance—that is a different matter.

In general, Comrades, we are grateful to you for the questions and problems which you have raised and which have helped us to take a more critical look from a new angle, as it were, at our work. I believe this discussion has been useful for everyone.

Declassified Defense Orders Examined

LD3009101289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Interview with A.S. Yemelin, department head of the USSR Ministry of Defense Institute of Military History, by correspondent A. Barkhatov; from the "Vremya" newscast—date of interview not given]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Defense has declassified more than 200 orders issued by the People's Commissariat for the Defense of the USSR from 1937 to 1941.

[Correspondent A. Barkhatov, identified by screen caption] Archiving is a paradoxical business. It protects truth like its own child, yet at the same time there is no stricter overseer. When told to keep silent it remains silent for decades. And here, in the holy of holies, the Central State Army of the Soviet Army, there's a lingering feeling that, alas, to this day it's a big event when we're given permission to find out the truth.

[A.S. Yemelin, department head of the Institute of Military History of the USSR Ministry of Defense, identified by screen caption] Let's take, for instance, the events in the Baltic region, about which so much is now being said, particularly about the role of the Red Army in those events.

[Barkhatov] Some are saying that it occupied...

[Yemelin, interrupting] Yes, yes, of course. There are at least three orders, No. 162...here they are on the table, let's take a look at them. What they amount to is a definition of the legal position of servicemen in the Baltic territories. I would make the claim that this legal position did not change until 22 June 1941.

[Barkhatov] Could you show us some of the most characteristic lines?

[Yemelin] Yes, of course.

[Barkhatov] I remember when I was looking at the documents I thought it particularly interesting that there was no mention of any sovietation of the republic as a sovereign country, a sovereign power...there could be no question of that.

[Yemelin] Quite the contrary, in fact. [reading from a document] The people's commissar sets the task here of: Any feelings or conversations of the kind, if they take place among servicemen must be radically eliminated and in the future thwarted in the most merciless manner, since they only play into the hands of the foes of the Soviet Union and of Lithuania. He spoke as if he could see into the future. Just look how interesting this is: Prevent any kind of interference at all by our people...eh, between party or any other kind of public affairs in Lithuania. Any attempts by servicemen, irrespective of their position, to pretend to be extreme leftists and conduct communist propaganda, if only among individual members of the Lithuanian population, will be regarded as an anti-Soviet act aimed at discrediting the treaty on mutual assistance with Lithuania.

[Barkhatov] It was only later on, probably, that the policy was distorted by Stalin's emissars, when the Baltic region was hit by these repressions—events that we also know about.

[Yemelin] Yes, unfortunately. This is, well, a very painful issue, a painful part of our history, including our military history.

[Barkhatov] Incidentally, there's an order here, No. 072, signed by Kliment Voroshilov, stating that Gamarnik and Tukhachevskiy are enemies of the people, and, in a sort of lofty style, I think, that they are even vile scum.

[Yemelin] There's a set of orders that allow us to judge how the repressions functioned, their scale. Yezhov, the people's commissar for internal affairs—here's his signature, by the way—and Voroshilov [camera closes in on a document bearing the two signatures, Yezhov's in red ink] signed this order with the approval....

[Barkhatov] It makes you tremble just to look at that signature written in red...[he begins to read] Yezhov.

[Yemelin] Yezhov...with the approval of USSR Procurator Vyshinskiy. So what's this order about? It removes all liability from informers and slanderers...[film edited at this point] As we know, Voroshilov later boasted that he had purged the army down to its bare bones and that he had rooted out more than 40,000.

[Barkhatov] Among what seem to be very important documents at first sight—and not only at first sight, of course—declassified orders are turning up and slipping through that concern the flight across our border in 1939 or 40—the Junker who flew all the way to Moscow.

[Yemelin] Do you mean 15 May 1941?

[Barkhatov] Yes, yes, the Junker who flew all the way to Moscow right before the war. Why are these kinds of documents being declassified? What is there of interest in such details?

[Yemelin] Well how can I put it?

[Barkhatov] [words indistinct] sad precedent, because the flight to Moscow...

[Yemelin] There you are, there you are, of course, of course. History, you see, has repeated itself twice. The first time as a tragedy and the second during our lifetimes. Let's hope there isn't a third time and a worse one. This is probably why we have to know about these things as well. [video shows Barkhatov and Yeremin sitting at a desk surrounded by rows of archive shelves; camera occasionally focuses on documents referred to by Yeremin]

Voronin Reaches Deals With Coal Miners

PM0210155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting With Miners"]

[Text] A meeting was held 26 September between L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR people's deputies from the Donbass and members of the strike committee in the coalfield. M.I. Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, and leading workers from the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex, a number of ministries and departments, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] took part in the discussion.

During a detailed and frank exchange of information and opinions the miners' representatives made certain complaints about the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and asked questions of concern to miners. M.I. Shchadov talked about what specifically has been done and is being done in accordance with the 3 August 1989 USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures to Ensure Fulfillment of the Joint Resolutions Adopted by Government Commissions Together With the AUCCTU and Strike Committees of Working People from the Country's Coal Regions" and about the monitoring of the implementation of the provisions in this document. People personally responsible for the execution of the corresponding points of the resolution have been appointed, and the necessary orders and instructions have been issued.

Commissions to switch enterprises to complete autonomy, to prepare proposals on the socioeconomic development of the Kuznetsk, Donetsk, Karaganda, and Pechora Coalfields, and to introduce new methods of economic management and administrative organization of new forms of production on voluntary principles have been set up and are now at work. At present 164 enterprises in the sector have been switched to full autonomy.

The Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, with the participation of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Planning Committee, ministries, and departments, has drawn up a draft concept for the oblast's transition, on an experimental basis, to the principles of self-management and self-financing, as well as proposals for the creation in the region of an association based on mines, open cuts, construction organizations, and coal industry plants.

A decision was made to introduce new coal prices in the fourth quarter of 1989.

A draft temporary provision was prepared on the taxation of the profits earned by enterprises (associations) and organizations subordinate to the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and located on Kemerovo Oblast territory. This provision will be introduced on an experimental basis 1 January 1990.

Additional payments have been established for coal industry and mine construction workers permanently employed on underground work for the normative time of their movement about the mine to and from the shaft to their place of work. The government has earmarked R1.05 billion per year for these additional payments.

USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry enterprises have started to independently set the norms for production, job prices [rastsenki], and services.

In accordance with the joint resolutions higher rregional rates for working people's pay have been introduced in Kemerovo Oblast, the towns of Inta and Vorkuta, and the settlement of Khalmer-Yu. Questions of raising the regional wage rate as of the second quarter of next year for workers at coal industry enterprises and organizations located in Karaganda Oblast were resolved.

The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems [Goskomtrud] and the AUCCTU have decided to pay workers carrying out construction and installation work using the own-resources method a one-time seniority bonus and to give them other privileges.

The examination of the questions of maintaining a probationary period for Arctic region bonuses when workers transfer from one enterprise to another; of establishing Arctic bonuses from the first day of work for young people living in these areas; and of paying 100 percent of medical expenses incurred during illness in the period between shifts is currently drawing to an end.

Other questions dealing with pay are being worked out and will be submitted to the USSR Goskomtrud and the AUCCTU before 1 October this year.

Proposals have been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the government on improving moral incentives for miners for long service and fault-free work.

A draft law on pensions has been drawn up and will be submitted in October 1989 to the USSR Supreme Soviet, where its examination will form part of the current session's agenda.

Before 1 October the USSR Goskomtrud and the AUCCTU will submit a draft law on leave to the USSR Council of Ministers.

The USSR Ministry of Trade and the RSFSR Council of Ministers together with the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry adopted measures in July-September this year on improving supplies to miners of industrial goods and foodstuffs. Meat products, sugar, trading equipment, cars, and other nonfood goods have been allocated for 1989. The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply together with the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry are seeking opportunities to more fully supply coal industry enterprises and workers with material and technical resources—above all, construction materials for individual builders and for housing repairs.

The miners expressed great concern and dissatisfaction with the poor organization of coal deliveries and the supply of pit props to mines. In this connection the government will give instructions to eradicate the situation that has been created. In the process of the discussion wishes were expressed and a decision made to systematically publish in the press and feature on TV items on the progress in fulfilling the 3 August 1989 USSR Council of Ministers resolutions.

L.A. Voronin expressed the government's concern over the lag in coal extraction, particularly the extraction of coking coal. This is happening during the period of preparations for the winter and could have unfavorable consequences for the entire national economy. He expressed confidence that the miners will realize the full seriousness of the situation and show their inherent sense of responsibility. The government, for its part, is taking the necessary measures to fulfill all its obligations to the miners. The main thing today is to maintain support, conduct a constructive dialogue on any problems that arise, find mutually acceptable solutions to them, and supply the country with coal—the main source of heat resources.

All-Russian Komsomol Conference To Convene

PM0310100989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with A. Korolev, first secretary of Sverdlovsk Oblast Committee of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Communist Youth League (Komsomol), by own correspondent D. Usachev: "In the Interests of Russia's Komsomol"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date of interview not specified]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—A meeting of the first secretaries of Russian Federation Komsomol kray and oblast committees [kraykoms and obkoms] was held in Sverdlovsk to discuss the question of creating a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Komsomol. Appeals to Russia's Komsomol organizations were adopted, along with resolutions on holding an All-Russian Komsomol conference. We asked A. Korolev, first secretary of Sverdlovsk Komsomol Obkom, to comment on the results of the meeting.

[Korolev] The Komsomol Central Committee formed a working group right after the CPSU Central Committee plenum where the platform "On the Party's Nationalities Policy in Contemporary Conditions" was adopted and which agreed on the possibility of creating Russian formations of all-union public organizations. This group was instructed to undertake organizational questions involved in uniting Komsomol members in a republic Communist Youth League. The debate at the meeting in Sverdlovsk was very heated. Disputes arose from the outset from the very idea of setting up a Russian Komsomol. There were doubts: Will this not be a pro forma act, will it not be totally confined just to the appearance of yet another Central Committee and yet another apparatus? But even the greatest doubters gradually came around to the idea that the formation of an RSFSR Komsomol objectively accords with the interests of young people in all the union republics, rather than just Russia.

[Usachev] What will result from the emergence of a republic Komsomol involving Russia's young people?

[Korolev] The Russian Komsomol will be able to defend the interests of young people in state bodies and reject decisions that seem mistaken to Russia's Komsomol members via the RSFSR people's deputies elected with Komsomol support and via the right of legislative initiative which will be granted to the republic's public organization. I believe that young people's contribution to the most varied state and public matters will increase. We set out these and other arguments in favor of creating an RSFSR Komsomol in the appeal made by the meeting's participants to Russia's Komsomol members and Komsomol organizations.

[Usachev] You are talking about an independent republic youth league within the framework of the All-Union Komsomol. Were other options proposed?

[Korolev] The most diverse ideas were discussed. Inter alia, we talked about setting up a republic youth newspaper which would undertake organizational functions. We indicated that the following sequence is more advisable: Komsomol organizations from all the autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts in the Russian Federation will send their delegates to an All-Russian Komsomol Conference. It will resolve the question of convening the constituent congress of the RSFSR Komsomol.

[Usachev] Why was Sverdlovsk chosen as the scene of this meeting?

[Korolev] That has nothing to do with any ambitious pretensions on our part. The people of Sverdlovsk have been entrusted with the role of hosting the meeting for convenience sake—geographically our city is near the center of Russia. Incidentally, proposals were made to convene the All-Russian conference in Novosibirsk, Omsk, or Leningrad, but not in Moscow, so as to avoid excessive influence by the All-Union Komsomol. But such misgivings were deemed overexaggerated. Moscow has been chosen as the scene of the conference, which is scheduled for 29 October 1989. While the RSFSR Komsomol's constituent congress may be held at the beginning of 1990—before or after the 21st All-Union Komsomol Congress—that will be decided by the All-Russian Komsomol Conference.

Minister Describes Draft Socioeconomic Plan

LD2209191389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Sep (TASS)—The elaboration of a draft state plan for the USSR's economic and social development to 1990 has been completed. Vladimir Durasov, USSR minister and first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, writes in PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK today about the problems which the plan is called upon to solve.

During the elaboration of the plan, he writes, first and foremost the task was set of beginning a systematic process for the recovery of the economy once negative tendencies have been mastered. A reduction by half of the financial deficit is forseen. Extreme measures are required for this. It is planned, in particular, to reduce state capital invstment in the production sphere by 22 percent. But this does not relate to the agroindustrial sphere or light industry. In the nonproduction sphere, some increase in capital investment is envisioned. Defense spending will also be reduced and turnover tax will be increased.

The minister notes the intensification of the plan's social orientation. Budget spending on centralized measures for raising the people's standard of living will be more than three times higher than during the current year. This is a heavy burden on the budget. However, calculations show that this is possible. It is planned to increase retail trade turnover by R40 billion. Such an increase was achieved during the last 5-year plan over a period of almost 4 years.

Vladimir Durasov noted the new character of the plan as a document organizing the functioning of the economy. The reduction in the share of the state order is continued.

It is almost only with consumer goods that the state's order is maintained at 100 percent. With other types of goods, collectives can sell a portion of the production independently, and moreover on many occasions quite a significant portion—and not only on the internal market but also on the external market. The structure of the general state plan for the republics is also changing materially. It practically only includes supplies to the common- republican fund and interrepublican flows. And the elaboration of the whole plan, in its entirety, by territory and the formation of the very impotant territorial proportions is now the perogative of the union republics themselves.

Agricultural

Concern Over Potato Harvest Problems Noted

PM0210135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent A. Bogachuk report: "Soporific 'Indian Summer'"]

[Excerpts] Kemerovo Oblast—There were swarms of midges along the Tom River's banks in the evening, harbingers of an "Indian summer's" warm embrace, but next morning the dried-up grass and potato tops were suddenly covered by a sprinkling of what was certainly not the first hoarfrost. One automatically thought: So much for the potato crop harvest, stretching in a yellow strip all along the "Yelanskiy" State Farm [sovkhoz] fields. It was dug out of the earth only yesterday, but someone's indifferent hands left it out in the open overnight. Dozens of tonnes of potatoes, even though covered with straw, suffered frost damage also on "Ilinskiy" Sovkhoz....

The Kuzbass potato fields are unique in the east of the country. The "alternative bread" occupies almost 25,000 hectares here.

This year's harvest proved quite good. The main farms in suburban zones produce 120-130 quintals of potatoes per hectare. The weather has been perfect. But the pace of harvesting and the laying in of potatoes for winter storage are cause for serious concern. [passage omitted]

Many collective farm and sovkhoz leaders today are worried about the cities' declining assistance to the countryside. I was told in the oblast party committee Agrarian Department that miners in Mezhdurechensk refused to pick potatoes from 80 hectares on "Sadoparkovyy"" Sovkhoz which, incidentally, belongs to the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry. By way of an excuse, they refer to economic accountability and a decision by enterprises' labor collective councils. On the face of it, this is correct: You must be careful with money, and everyone should do his own job—growing grain or potatoes or extracting coal....

Let's be completely frank: Until recently, assistance to the countryside in industrial Kuzbass was mainly based on administrative edict methods. Perestroyka, and especially the recent miners' strike, thoroughly shook the prevailing system but have yet to create new approaches to the problem of mutual relations between city and countryside, based on mutual interest and businesslike partnership. Party committees in the oblast also suffer from a certain amount of timidity and lack of confidence.

Let us look at the figures. Almost 95 percent of Kemerovo Oblast's able-bodied population live in cities and workers' settlements. How can rural working people, comprising only 5.6 percent, supply vegetables and potatoes for 3 million people in the Kuzbass at the present level of technology and equipment without help from the city? The answer is probably obvious to everyone. There can be no argument: It is necessary to seek innovations and to strengthen the mutual interests of workers' collectives and rural working people, but the potato crop which has been cultivated at considerable cost cannot be allowed to go to waste. [passage omitted]

Agricultural Report for 25 Sep-2 Oct Period

LD0310032889

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 25 September-2 October, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

25 September

no fileworthy items monitored.

26 September

Kursk sugar beet farmers have dispatched 1.5 million tonnes for processing so far this year, which is twice as much as envisioned in the agro-industrial timetable, but the enterprises are unable to handle so much, and the roots are withering and losing their quality. This is only the beginning of the harvesting season. (0700)

The harvest is coming to an end in Kazakhstan. It has not been a plentiful one but farms have stored sufficient seeds and for the first time in many years have supplied their own feed in full. Grain is being sold to the state. (1200)

27 September

In Belorussia almost three-fourths of the potatoes have been harvested despite lack of manpower and machines. The harvest is a good one. (0300)

In Tselinograd Oblast more than 1.7 million tonnes of valuable sorts of grain have been delivered to the elevators, allowing many collectives and state farms to seel their grain for hard currency. (0300)

Harvesting of soya beans has started in Amur Oblast. At the present time approximately 70 percent of the country's soya output comes from the Amur area. (0300)

28 September

In Irkutsk Oblast the grain has already been harvested and threshed from 400,000 hectares. On the whole every hectare throughout the oblast is yielding 20 quintals of grain. (0100)

29 September

no fileworthy items monitored

30 September

The millionth tonne of cotton since the start of the picking operation has so far been procured in Uzbekistan. The state order has already been half met in Khorezm Oblast, but the harvest is expected to be a difficult one owing to resowing in the spring, which has led to late ripening of the crop in many rayons, where it has been delayed by nearly a month. (0700)

1 October

Farmers in Belgorod Oblast have to date sold 1 million tonnes of sugar beet to the state. (0304)

2 October

No fileworthy items monitored.

Military

Draftees' 'Pacifist Sentiments' Cause Concern

PM0310094989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 First Edition p 6

[Report by Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "Society Must Display Concern"]

[Text] "Draftee week" is being held in Moscow and in the oblasts on whose territory troops of the Moscow Military District are stationed. What has the week shown?

The people in epaulettes are frequent guests of the workers of the renowned Likhachev Plant. Servicemen taking part in the rallying of military mentors were here 27 September. They were acquainted with the work of the plant's main conveyor belt, from which hundreds of trucks roll off every day for the national economy. And then a meeting and dialogue between the servicemen and the draftees of Moscow's Proletarskiy Rayon took place at the plant's culture center. Together with the soldiers on military service, Captain Second Rank Yu. Pakhomov, rayon military commissar, and representatives of the Proletarskiy Rayon Party Committee and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Rayon Committee answered the draftees' numerous questions.

According to the figures of the Moscow Military District Political Directorate, within the framework of "Draftee Week" there were meetings between soldiers and young men of predraft age in all 33 rayons of Moscow and also in the 18 oblasts on whose territory Moscow Military District troops are stationed. In Moscow alone over 20, 00 young men took part in these meetings. The boys visited the military commissariats and military units and military academies and were acquainted with the most sophisticated combat equipment and weapons and visited barracks, clubs, and canteens.

What did these meetings with draftees show? I asked Colonel A. Shtokolov, a political worker and one of the organizers of "Draftee Week," to answer this question.

" 'Draftee Week' is ordinary work but at the same time not everything is proceeding along a smooth path, as they say! The week revealed once again an alarming tendency—the growing pacifist sentiments among the majority of young men. Many of them are saying that they would not like to serve in the army. For instance, at a meeting of draftees of Moscow's Volgogradskiy Rayon, of 550 young men not one evinced a desire to serve in the army.... Many are frightened by the so-called "hazing," by the tense interethnic relations among servicemen, express dissatisfaction with the excessively small money allowance which the drafted soldier receives and suggest that servicemen's right to leave, to regular permission to leave the unit area, and even to change their boots for... sneakers be enshrined in legislation.

"It looks as though we military men are the only ones to be profoundly alarmed by the negative attitude of some young people toward the army," I was told by Captain Second Rank Yu. Pakhomov, military commissar for Moscow's Proletarskiy Rayon. "Here is just one example—this year every other draftee failed to arrive on schedule at the draft commission. We had to resort to the militia's assistance.... That is why in work on military-patriotic education and the training of young men for service, we count on effective aid from the labor collectives and the leaders of party, All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, and other public organizations. Society must display concern...."

Yazov Issues Order on Military Draft

PM0210132589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[USSR Defense Minister's Order of the Day No. 341, dated Moscow, 27 September 1989]

[Text] On the discharge from the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces into the reserve of servicemen who have completed their established period of active military service and on the next draft of citizens for active military service in October-December 1989.

In accordance with the USSR law "On Compulsory Military Service" **I ORDER**:

1. That draftees who have completed their established period of active military service be discharged from the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces into the reserve in October-December 1989.

2. That male citizens aged 18 by the draft date and without the right to draft deferment and citizens above draft age whose draft deferment has expired be drafted to active military service in October-December 1989.

3. That this order be read out in all companies, batteries, and squadrons and aboard ships.

[Signed] Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister